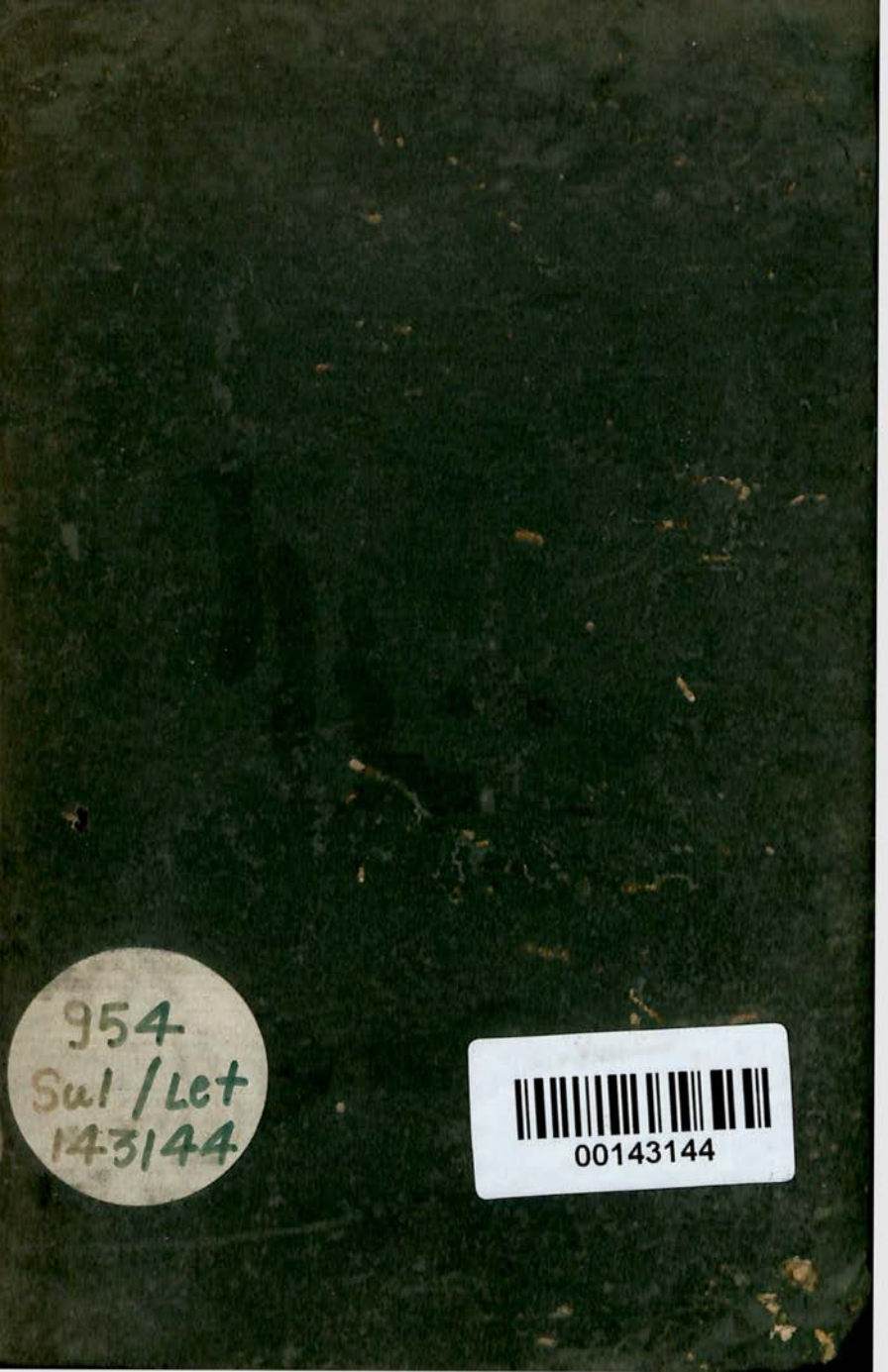
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LETTERS ON INDIA.

BY

EDWARD SULLIVAN,

AUTHOR OF "RAMBLES IN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA;" "THE BUNGALOW AND THE TENT;" "FROM BOULOGNE TO BABEL-MANDEB;" "A TRIP TO THE TRENCHES;" ETC., ETC.

TO JOHN TREMAYNE, ESQ.

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NOTICE.

THE following Letters were printed for private circulation several weeks before the recent change of Government.

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LETTERS ON INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

When these letters were originally printed, I had no intention whatever of submitting them to the tender mercies of a critical public: they were intended for private circulation only, and on that account possibly contain freer remarks on men and matters, than is advisable in a work that courts publicity. Be that as it may, for some reason or another, probably because everything on India goes down now-a-days, they have attracted more attention than I expected, and consequently, to use the stereotyped phraseology of modest authors under similar circumstances, "I have consented to give them to the world."

The multitude of books of all sorts, sizes, shapes, and prices, on every imaginable subject, is one of the

inflictions of the age. The number of those who write, is quite out of all proportion to those who read, and till these numbers are more fairly balanced, I question whether we should not display more real zeal for knowledge, and more regard for our own limited intellects, by increasing the existing taxes on knowledge, than by repealing those we have. Nobody gains by the present multiplicity of books; those who read a little of what is written on any one subject, get confused before they can arrive at a fair conclusion about it; whilst truth herself, overwhelmed by diverse opinions, runs the chance of sharing the fate of that young man at Athens, who was actually smothered under the cloaks of the enthusiastic spectators in the Odeon, who fancied they detected in him a likeness to the statues of Hector.

In these days, when the liberty, if not the ability, to write, is common to all, no apology is expected from an author who sees fit to impart an idea to his friends or acquaintances; but "he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow," and when he undertakes to multiply *ad infinitum*, "this same unmeaning thing he calls a thought," the case is altered, and he is justly expected to give his reasons in writing, for thus adding to the already overstocked world of letters.

My reason for publishing at the present time is very simple; it is merely to induce every man who

has time and inclination to think for himself on this great Indian question. The following letters are suggestive, not didactic, and I wish rather to point out possible alleviations, than to advocate specific remedies.

On all matters, great and small, the world is most unequally divided between those who do form their own judgments, and those who do not; of course I do not expect to influence any of the former.

> "'Tis with our judgments as our watches; none
> Go just alike, and each prefers his own."

A man will tell you what o'clock it is by his watch, and when and where he set it, and why he *must* be right; but I never yet met one who was willing to alter his time to suit that of another; whilst those who take their time from their neighbours, will see so much in these letters contrary to their immemorial tradition of Indian Government, that their ideas are not likely to be much influenced by them; but there are always a certain number in the transition state, whose judgments are undergoing the process of solidification, and it is quite possible that a stray thought or two sown broadcast, may attract the attention of some of them, and under more favourable auspices, and in a better soil, assume a form of practical utility.

No man ever intends to be convinced by an argu-

ment, written or spoken, if he can possibly help it; he enters on the subject armed with his own ideas, which he believes to be the best in the world. If he is convinced, he is defeated, and naturally disgusted; he may be obliged to desert his own stronghold, but it is very improbable that he will immediately take refuge in that of his opponents. Of course argument will occasionally triumph, as in the case of those two brothers, a Roman Catholic and a Protestant, who meeting to discuss their adverse faith, found each other so convincing, that they actually converted each other, and parted the very reverse of what they came; but this was a remarkable exception, and does not affect the general rule, that no man is convinced by argument. But although you cannot convince a man, you may occasionally induce him to consider, and that is a process far more conducive to real truth than rapid conversion; let a man once convince himself, and his energy in defence of his new principles will only be eclipsed by the determination with which he will attack his old.

The question of Indian Government is not like the thousand and one that yearly agitate our political world; it is the greatest question that has affected this country since she has attained her present lofty place amongst nations; directly or indirectly, India has been one of the chief stepping stones to England's greatness; the question, therefore, of the permanence

of our rule in that country, affects every individual in this; and those who seek to make party capital out of their country's difficulties, are no true men; it is a question that should unite in earnest thought every politician of the day; the paltry gratification of party triumph, should in this case yield to the far grander motive, the glory and permanence of the British empire. For once, at least, hereditary animosities and party feuds, should disappear before the great emergency of the State.

It is not many weeks since these letters were first printed, but during that short period most important and unforeseen events have agitated the political world. A cloud that when first seen on the horizon, appeared no bigger than a man's hand, suddenly increased to the proportion of a thunder-storm, and broke over the heads of a secure and confident Cabinet, with a force as irresistible as it was unexpected. The most popular Minister since the days of Pitt, backed by a Cabinet remarkable for high rank and territorial possessions, was defeated by an incongruous majority of friends and foes, and forced to resign office without confession and without shrift, to the excessive astonishment of all parties in the State.

Count Walewski accused England, in the face of Europe, of harbouring traitors and encouraging assassination, and Lord Palmerston pleaded guilty to

the charge; but the Commons of England repudiated the accusation, and by a small majority declared they did not consider their country's honour safe at that particular moment, in the hands of those who were so little inclined to defend her institutions. I believe the general feeling of the country fully supports this expression of mistrust.

Although John Bull has of late years been cruelly tried in his pocket, he has always paid; but in this case his little pride is hurt, and even though he may feel his laws are not quite perfect, he cannot bring himself to alter them at what appears to him very like dictation. Moreover, it does appear strange, that the ill-worded despatch of a foreign minister should be necessary to instruct a veteran statesman, who has been a member of almost every government during the last forty years, that our laws are inefficient, and *must* be amended. And if they are really as bad as the late Ministry acknowledges them to be, surely some one must have known it, and the country may justly complain they were not advised sooner, and an opportunity taken to legislate on the subject with more dignity and deliberation.

Probably in no period of English history has the country been so inert and supine, and so blindly subservient to the dictation of her Ministers, as during the last few years. The useless and costly wars, and the still more senseless truces we have made of late,

imply that our boasted common-sense has lamentably decreased in quality, or is buried away somewhere in a napkin.

Our Ministers have treated us much as falconers of olden days did their birds; they keep us carefully hooded during their good pleasure, and then fly in at any quarry that suits their purpose; always throwing up the lure of flattery and promises, when they wish to draw us back to our thraldom. I consider it quite refreshing to see the thinking classes of the country rouse themselves from their dormouse condition to undertake some of the responsibilities of a self-governing people. John Bull redivivus, although he may occasionally be rude and hasty, is a much more interesting animal than the British Lion half asleep, having his nose tickled with a straw. We are told by the Press of the country that we (the public) are serious losers by the change of Ministry; but I confess I can't see it: individually, the late Cabinet are no great loss, and their *laissez allez* policy and off-hand legislation on many important questions, cannot have added much to our national power or reputation; whilst on the Indian, which immediately concerns us all, I consider we are actual gainers by the change.

I cannot understand how those who have dragged us into expensive wars with Rangoon, Persia, and China, without our consent, almost without our

knowledge, deserve our particular gratitude or affection: we are a great maritime power, and can, at will, send fleets and armies against enemies who are very indifferently furnished with those articles; we can talk bombastically and even nobly, about avenging the national flag, and repressing barbaric incivility, &c., &c., &c., and

> "Call fire, sword, and desolation,
> A godly thorough reformation,"

when administered to those who incur our displeasure. But, after all, there is neither glory nor profit in such war: the victor suffers quite as much as the conquered; we may send thousands of troops in big ships thousands of miles to occupy a few mud forts and destroy a few half-armed soldiers, to occupy a pestilential territory, when we already have twice as much as we know what to do with, or even to storm a populous city, and capture an Imperial Commissioner; but all this costs us quite as much money as it does our opponents, and the only permanent effect on this country is to increase our taxation and lessen our chance of doing good at home.

Another reason why I think the late change of Ministry is beneficial to the country is, that it has put an end to the unparalleled unanimity with which all the leading journals supported the late Government; for the first time during the present generation, the Leviathan of the Press was a Ministerial

organ; and so immense is its influence on public opinion, that I consider the liberties of England can never be quite safe when the policy of a minister, possessing a majority in Parliament, is supported to the very letter by counsel so overpowering as "The Times." The country has literally no time to think: a particular policy is proposed in an easy, off-hand way; a subservient majority quashes discussion and hurries it through the House, when the Leviathan takes it up out of doors, and, in half a dozen leaders of surpassing talent, convinces a man against his reason, or at any rate convinces him that he has no chance of opposing the rush; this is the way we were hurried pell-mell into the war with China and Persia, and but for the present suspension of united power, should have hastily passed both Indian and Alien Bills.

The late Government was delighted to be called liberal, but it would be difficult to show how it could have been more exclusive; it did not boast half the self-raised men the present Tory Government can. There is an immense deal of nonsense talked in political circles about hereditary policy; the only policy that is really hereditary is that which enjoins a suitable provision for hereditary Dowbs, and this is an article of faith that even antiquity cannot endear to the public: hereditary policy is not one of the requirements of a Constitutional Government; we have a Constitution strong and well-defined, and all we

want is, that it should be kept in order, and gradually moulded to meet increasing requirements or inevitable change. It does not signify to us one twopence whether Lord or Commoner, Whig or Tory, hold the reins of Government, so long as they possess average common-sense, strict honour, and integrity: if, in fact, they govern for the country and not for themselves or friends. To suppose that certain old families supply the only stock from which statesmen are made, is an antiquated doctrine suited only to those families themselves, it has no weight whatever with the country; any party that governs in strict accordance with the Constitution, is as good as another, and nothing can be more fatal to the doctrine of Constitutional Government than to suppose its existence depends upon the predominance of any one party in the State. If the principle of Constitutional Government is worth anything, it ought, by this time, and I believe it has, if men would only follow them, laid down such broad highways of foreign and domestic policy, that the State can travel by herself, and requires only the careful assistance of men of ordinary talent, and sterling honour and integrity, to check her, or move ahead, as circumstances may dictate; if all the vaunted advantages of Constitutional Government has not done this for us, in what way is it better than the other hundred-and-one systems at work in the world?

It is curious that this late freak of political fortune should have brought to the direction of Indian affairs the very statesman I pointed out to you some weeks before as most fitted to handle them. Whatever may be the current opinion respecting the comparative merits of past and present Ministers of War, Chancellors of the Exchequer, and First Lords of the Treasury, there can, I suppose, be no doubt whatever, that the country is an immense gainer by the change of dynasty in Cannon Row. In the place of an official who did not profess to know much about India, we have a great statesman who has made Indian politics and legislation a study. We cannot see into the future, but at any rate we may fairly expect better things of the present than of the late President of the Board of Control. The late President was on bad terms with the powers in Leadenhall Street; and, to use his own words, was satisfied with laying the reins on the necks of the Directors, and liberally applying the spurs—a cockney mode of equitation that generally ensures a fall at the first obstacle.

Under the late *régime*, Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row resembled a remarkable temple of red tape, sacred to the Goddess of Misrule, that stood some winters ago on the snow-clad heights of Sebastopol, in which certain heads of departments, although living under the same roof, were not on speaking

terms, and only condescended to communicate from adjoining rooms by written correspondence, properly copied and docketted. This original conception for increasing the complication of business and multiplying the immediate wants of a destitute and perishing army, appears to have been considered applicable to the present urgent requirements of India; but already determination and energy have broken through the absurd trammels of custom and routine, and effected one of the great objects of the India Bill of the late government. Everybody knows that the present President of the Board of Control has no particular reason to love the Directors; they cut him short in the proudest career open to a subject of this country, that of Governor General of India, and have only recognized his rule by striving to efface every vestige of his policy; but he does not take the opportunity presented by the cry of unpopularity to display irritation and triumph in his turn: on the contrary, now that India requires anxious thought and unity of action, the past is entirely forgotten, and instead of adopting the independent policy of his predecessors, he is down constantly at Leadenhall Street, consulting personally with the Directors, and taking council with them, on the great Indian questions. This is my idea of administrative capacity, and these are the sort of men, whether nobles or commoners, Whig or Tory, that the country wants to do her work.

The advent of Lord Ellenborough to the direction of Indian affairs at this moment, appears to me almost providential; and should circumstances favour the elevation of Sir John Lawrence to supreme rule in India, we may fairly hope that with energy and experience in our councils at home, and executive abroad, we may yet firmly re-establish our rule, and for the future enlist the sympathies as well as ensure the obedience of the people of India.

Since printing the following letters, I have been told that much that I have written about missionary labour will give serious offence to the great body of those good and earnest persons who judge of the things of this world more by what they should be, than by what they really are. I should be excessively grieved if such were the case; but as it is impossible to write on Indian matters without some allusion to the religion of the country, and the prospects of Christianity, so having certain opinions on the subject I am of course bound to state them: but they are convictions, not evidence, and can probably be most effectually disposed of by printed reports and statistical returns. Independently of my conviction that very few real Christians, not nominal ones, have rewarded missionary labour in India, there is another more important reason why I do not regard with so much admiration our missionary institutions in the far country; it is the urgent and yearly

increasing necessity that exists in this country for the labour of every earnest man, who is willing to devote himself to the great cause of Christianity. There are communities in this very city amongst whom infidelity is elevated to a doctrine, and whose open vaunt is of their strength and increasing numbers. Should we not strive to sweep our own house before we undertake to clean that of our neighbour? Our enemies are active, and unwearied, and powerful at our very threshold: how, then, can we afford to send on foreign service a single soldier of the Cross? Is it really our duty to hurry away to distant lands in search of heathens, when we have hundreds of thousands far worse, sapping the very foundations of our faith at home? I believe not. To my mind, home missions are our appointed task; and I believe it is better to bring back to the pure precepts of our faith one amongst the hundreds of thousands of professed infidels in our crowded communities, who have fallen away from the faith of their fathers, than to convert to a nominal Christianity thousands of Hindoos, who confound their Trinity with ours, and believe everything the Sahib teaches them without thought and without understanding. I firmly believe that one earnest energetic man would do more for the cause of Christianity in one month in the dens of vice and misery in the metropolis and elsewhere, than fifty men, equally earnest and

laborious, would in the cities and plains of India in a year. Every shilling spent in the name of Christ amongst these starving, perishing thousands, would do more for the good cause, than the hundreds of pounds spent on costly establishments in unheard-of places. This is my firm belief; but, as I said before, what are individual convictions to the facts and eloquence of Exeter Hall?

CHAPTER II.

Want of general knowledge on Indian subjects—Objects of present inquiry—Absolute necessity of acquiring the sympathy of the Natives—Anomalous nature of our Indian Empire—Necessity and great difficulty of colonization—Value of India.

A FEW months ago, India was no more a subject of general conversation than Kamskatka or Siam are at present; it was not the fashion—and anybody who broached the subject was almost certain to be put down as a bore, or shunned as the hero of a tiger story. Now it is just the reverse: wherever you go, and whoever you meet, you hear of nothing else—the conversation of all classes, high and low, is of Brahmins, and Rajpoots, and sepoys continually. Everybody has new something to say on the subject of India; and free and enlightened constituencies, and mechanics' institutes, are daily and nightly mystified, by amateur statesmen and orators, on subjects that a year ago were scarcely tolerated by the hardy men of business to whom they were unavoidable inflictions. Such being the case, why should not you and I join the rank of "drivellers," as you would call them, and exchange a few ideas about

India? We do not often spoil a good argument by too speedy an assent in each other's opinions; and happily this is a subject on which we can disagree till doomsday.

The reason why everybody has hitherto avoided the subject of India is, that no general information existed in this country regarding it; either a man had been there and knew a great deal (or, what came to the same thing, thought he did), or he had not, and knew nothing at all. When such men met, the subject was mutually tabooed; the one did not care to throw his pearls before swine, and the other was naturally unwilling to expose his profound ignorance. I have never seen two such men meet in society, and mutually turn away their heads from the subject of India, but I have been reminded of an old story in Plutarch: The courtiers of Queen Berenice remarked with surprise that their mistress and a woman of Lacedæmon meeting out walking, both turned away their heads at one and the same instant; on inquiry, they discovered that the queen could not bear the smell of butter, or the peasant endure scents and perfumes.

Thus it is not only on the subject of India, that opposite causes produce the same result.

But, as I said before, the events of the last few months have changed all that; and the narrations of sufferings and atrocities we may hope are exag-

gerated, and of heroism and devotion it is impossible to exaggerate, have swept aside the indifference of fifty years, and caused one and all of us, with anxious eye, to

> "Look to the East, where Ganges' swarthy race
> Shall shake your tyrant empire to its base;
> Lo! there rebellion rears her ghastly head,
> And gleams the Nemesis of native dead:
> Till Indus roll a deep purpureal flood,
> And claim her long arrears of northern blood."

Of course the allusion to "tyrant empire" and "northern blood" is a poetical fiction; but it proves that in Byron's time party feeling must have been quite as much divided on Indian matters as at present.

At first sight the increased interest taken in all Indian subjects would promise the best results; but, unfortunately, the *cacoëthes loquendi* frequently does more to confuse than to convince, and tends rather to the spread of theory than of truth; and if we are to judge of the average amount of information existing in this country on Indian matters by the speeches and suggestions that find their way into the public press, I fear we must come to the conclusion, that in the countless numbers of present counsellors there is anything but wisdom. Most of the public speeches have been confined to senseless abuse of the natives: and the letters that crowded the papers with impos-

sible theories and suggestions for launching the Leviathan, were not a whit more ridiculous in their way than many that have lately appeared regarding the subject of Indian government.

A man of your logical habit of thought (though, by the bye, I remember an occasion when you experienced some difficulty in defining a syllogism right off) will know as well as any one how necessary it is to all sound conclusions to avoid the "a non causa pro causa" form of reasoning in argument. If a wrong cause is once assigned in any argument, and its truth admitted, there is an end of all chance of arriving at the truth: and there are now so many false causes assigned and credited for the present state of India, that it is quite an open question in my mind, whether the future progress of the country does not run a greater chance of being swamped by the busy interference and hasty legislation of the many headed, than it formerly did from their undisguised indifference.

There appears to be a very strong desire in many quarters to step quietly over the causes of the mutiny, and to let bygones be bygones, as the expression is: this delicacy for national or individual shortcomings is simply absurd. If we do not know exactly what have been our errors of commission and omission during the past, how can we possibly guard against like ones for the future? When a merchant

has lost largely in any transaction, he naturally tries to discover whether the misfortune was owing to the rascality or inefficiency of his clerks, or to his own mistaken ideas of commerce; he does not blindly rush into a similar operation without some kind of inquiry.

You and I are not revengeful folk; and if we hold a private inquest over the prostrate empire of India, it is not for the purpose of bringing in verdicts of "wilful murder" right and left, and hanging and gibbeting with insane severity; a verdict of manslaughter, justifiable homicide, or even accidental death, will quite satisfy us. There is no desire whatever in this country to split hairs on Indian matters, or to pick out the identical feather that broke the camel's back. We don't want victims at all, but we want the truth; we want to see whether the load was really too heavy—not with the object of punishing those who placed it there, but, if possible, to guard against a like accident for the future.

Throughout this Indian excitement, the desire to visit our misfortunes on individuals has not been one-tenth part so great as it was during the Crimean war.

The reason is simple. In the Crimea, interest was felt to be at the root of every appointment and every misfortune. In India it has not; there, our misfortunes have been more owing to age than interest:

some of those who somewhat disappointed public expectation were too old; and it was naturally felt that it was very hard to blame men because nature had inconveniently prolonged their existence, or had not broken her universal laws in their favour, by endowing them with energy beyond their years.

But, indeed, when one looks at the deeds of those who have come prominently forward during this Indian campaign, there are not many, old or young, that we can dare to censure.

From the very commencement of the mutiny, the public have thought fit to adopt the sanguine tone of official ignorance, or the frothy bombast of the leading journals, and to insist that the disturbance was nothing at all, and, once suppressed, would add immeasurably to our strength. If any one was ever rash enough to lament certain delays in the first outbreak of the mutiny, or to allude to the possibility of the revolt spreading, he was immediately called a croaker, and told that, instead of being a misfortune, the prolonged siege of Delhi was in fact the most fortunate thing in the world for this country, as *all* the mutinous sepoys would congregate there, and be exterminated in one lot; and that, as for the population or native princes taking part against us, it was impossible; that they were, in fact, so devoted to our rule, that, except by doing nothing, or "looting" an unprotected treasury or two, they were at a loss how

to display their affection! We were even told to consider the mutiny itself as a benefit—almost a providential arrangement! If you can prove that an attack of small-pox or a thirty-days' fever improves a man's constitution, why then it is possible the mutiny may have its advantages; but not otherwise. Our power has been in peril from one end of the peninsula to the other, and even now is dormant, or extinguished in some portion of our dominions; that of course may also be a subject of congratulation; but surely those who are not long-sighted enough to see far away into the future, may be pardoned for not throwing up their hats!

At present, it is scarcely a question of how we are to rule the country in the best manner, but how we are to reconquer it as quickly as possible; and when we talk of revising our laws and increasing our revenue, we must confess it is rather like disposing of the bear's skin before we have caught the bear.

I am one of these who believe that India will never pay to keep, unless it is perfectly satisfied with our rule; the expense of controlling even a passive resistance would ruin us. We can only retain our hold of many of the provinces, and collect the revenue, by the sufferance of the millions who inhabit them; if that is withdrawn, we must go. A widespread dislike to our rule, if only just sufficiently active to prevent their paying their taxes without

compulsion, would be sufficient to render the country utterly useless to us; 50,000, or even 80,000 Europeans, scattered amongst a population of nearly 200,000,000, not perfectly friendly, must always be an existence over a volcano, and can never be free from the greatest danger and anxiety: a mere shudder of the mass would drive us from the country. Under no possible condition of the human race can 50,000 or even 80,000 men be sufficient to exercise a lengthened dominion over a population of four thousand times their number, not perfectly docile and contented; 50,000 European troops can never form a foundation sufficiently strong to support a permanent British empire in India.

Whenever I contemplate our Indian empire, I am reminded of the strange dream of Nebuchadnezzar, so miraculously interpreted by Daniel; "Nebuchadnezzar, the king, saw a great image whose brightness was excellent; and the form thereof was terrible: this image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay." Our image has also been formed of the precious metals, and its foundation been composed of iron and miry clay—the European and the sepoy. Although these discordant materials mingled, they never united. They supported the superstructure for a time; but from want of care, or inevitable destiny, the miry clay has fallen away, and our image is endangered.

Whether any amount of legislative skill or forethought can ever make the British empire in India permanent, is a problem which the future alone can solve; when we examine it, all reasoning from analogy fails us; we cannot, in all the great conquests of the world, all the dominations of race over race, narrated in history, find one that bears the slightest similarity to British rule in India; it stands alone in the history of the world.

There is no single instance on record of a country inhabited by two hundred millions of the human race being retained in any lengthened servitude by a people residing twelve thousand miles away, differing from them in religion, morality, and tradition; and who are as far separated from them in every quality of mind and body, as the eternal bounds that limit the diversity of the human species will permit, without partial colonization or gradual amalgamation of races.

Every nation, without exception, that has hitherto reduced another to permanent subjection, has, more or less, cemented conquest by colonization; and whether we look at the conquest of Gaul and Britain by the Romans, of Spain by the Carthaginians, and subsequently by the Moors, of Europe by the Turks, of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards, and Brazil by the Portuguese, of Hindostan by the Affghans, and afterwards by the Moguls, and China by the Tartars, we shall find they all, more or less, planted colonies;

and it is an undoubted fact that, in proportion to the number and strength of these colonies, their rule was more powerful and more enduring.

It would almost appear as if colonization is the only condition on which Providence will permit the substitution or lengthened subjugation of one race by another; and as far as history hitherto instructs us, permanent conquest is but another word for vigorous and successful colonization. Up to this period, England has in no degree colonized India, or encouraged an amalgamation of races; nor is there any probability, not to say possibility, of her doing so.

Whether our inability to colonize will entail upon us the short supremacy that has marked the conquests of all other countries that have neglected this principle, it is hard to say; our empire may be intended to endure without it, but undoubtedly it is an anomaly in the history of conquest, and contrary to all the laws that hitherto have regulated the subjection of one race to another. British supremacy, an establishment of two generations, is but a thing of yesterday; compared with the great conquests we have enumerated, and even in comparison with those that were least enduring, it is as nothing. The Romans were masters of the fairest portions of Britain during four centuries, and ruled France altogether nearly 600 years; the dominion of the Moors in Spain lasted 800 years; that of the Affghans and Mogul conquerors, severally 200 years.

Whenever we consider these periods and remember how slowly the great events of the world move along, and what an instant a hundred years is in the history of a nation, it does appear rather ridiculous to hear English empire in India talked of as one of the fixed institutions of the world, which cannot be changed!

Dr. Johnson defines a colony as "a body of people drawn from the mother-country to inhabit some distant place." Now in that sense, India considered as a whole, and especially Hindostan, never can be a colony of Great Britain. There are certain inseparable obstacles of climate, that alone render such a transplantation of the Anglo-Saxon race impossible; but although we cannot colonize, and thus make India a permanent habitation of our race, it does not follow from that that we must resign the country at once; doubtless there are conditions under which the British may, for a considerable period, retain their hold of India; they may hold the country in subjection by force of arms, or, as miracles are always possible, we may so endear the natives of all classes to our rule, by a more equable system of taxation, and by a marked improvement of their social state, that they may rest perfectly satisfied, and willingly honour and obey whatever moderate force we can afford to keep in the country; but colonize it we cannot: the Neilgherry Hills and the lower ranges of the Himalayas are the only districts in India where

the third generation of Englishmen retain the vigour and energy of their race.

A colony implies a self-supporting community, comprising capitalists, labourers, and mechanics. Capitalists can never successfully establish themselves as farmers or agriculturists in India, where all the products of the land can be produced more cheaply by natives themselves; and it is doubtful whether any large number will ever be induced to dare the risk of capital and the loss of health attending the more expensive culture of sugar, coffee, and indigo. There is no opening whatever for labourers in India; the labour market is already overstocked, and the climate is fatal. There is a greater opening for mechanics than for any other class of emigrant labour. The most ordinary mechanical appliances are unknown in the country; and if Tubal Cain could revisit the earth, he would find his own crude conceptions still comprised the sole mechanical practice of many scores of millions in the East. But even if the inclination to emigrate to India was very general, the nature of the climate and the fields of enterprise are such, that considerable capital is indispensable: a man with less than £2,000 or £3,000 would find no field of enterprise open to him in India.

This state of affairs obviously closes the country to the classes that constitute the great masses of European emigrants;—that this is so, and that few

comparatively are inclined to avail themselves of any increased facilities for emigration to India, may be gathered from the fact, that although all the restrictions of the East India Company with regard to British settlers were removed in 1834, the number of English unemployed by Government has not increased in any appreciable degree since that period; in 1805 there were in India 31,000 British-born subjects, of whom 22,000 were soldiers; in 1857 there were about 50,000 British subjects, of whom probably nearly 40,000 were soldiers; so that in fifty years the increase of British settlers in India is almost *nil*. Under these circumstances, it is not unnatural to inquire in what way India is profitable to us, and why we should be so anxious, at an annual cost of many thousands of valuable lives, to retain possession of a country we can only partially colonize, and therefore I believe only partially retain as permanent empire. These questions are constantly asked among men, and they will be still more openly discussed when the fulness of the awful catastrophe that is now convulsing Hindostan, the thousands upon thousands of valuable lives lost in an unequal struggle with ruthless savages, and the sum total of our enormous expenditure, are laid open to the nation.

Three answers can be given to this question, "Of what use is India to England?" The first is the most

important one, and alone carries with it a consideration that few thinking men will lightly put aside; and unless Englishmen can recognise in it a sufficient reason for keeping the country, they may search in vain for one more weighty.

India opens out an almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain; or, in other words, it maintains at a higher level than that existing in any other country, the reward of the labour of educated men.

This may appear a very insufficient reason to those who imagine that tribute provinces should directly contribute their gold, and their silver, and their merchandise towards the expenses of the Home Government; but to men who weigh well the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a State the want and desperation of the educated unemployed has always been, it will appear an ample reason for striving to the utmost to retain, if not all, at least a very sufficient portion of our Indian possessions. It is no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquillity of England, when all Europe was tottering, was owing, not a little, to the outlet India had given to her educated masses.

The second reason affects us more directly in the pocket. Every Englishman paid and supported in India, all the sums remitted for the expenses of the

Home Government or private purposes, represent so many sums yearly saved, .or actually added to the capital of this country. These sums, directly and indirectly, have been estimated at eight or ten millions sterling; no small amount when carried through a term of fifty years!

These reasons, and the claims of prestige, which we shall discuss later, are, I believe, the only sufficient reasons that exist for retaining India.

CHAPTER III.

The amount of cant that pervades Indian discussions—Nature of our patent of right to India—The cruelties of the Sepoys partly dictated by their religion—Not new in History.

EVERY honest man hates cant; you are an honest man, therefore you hate cant (that, by the bye, is a syllogism). There is no walk of life in which it is tolerable: it is contemptible in a minister; bad even in Councillor Silver Tongue pleading for life; sickening in a priest; odious in a woman; disgusting in whatever form you meet it. It is so much more respectable to exceed your professions than to fall short of them, that I am always surprised at the marked preference the world evinces for the opposite policy; we all like the man who professes nothing, and does it, better than the one who professes much, and does not do it. In fact, the Bible, that contains instruction on almost every point of morality that can arise, tells us that the man who at first refused point blank, and eventually did what he was commanded, was preferred to the man who promised to obey and did not. All this spleen is excited by the monstrous and unnecessary cant and professions

with which the subject of India is constantly treated in this country.

We are daily told by good and clever men that the happiness and conversion of the gentle Hindoo are our sole reasons for seeking to retain an Eastern empire; that India and her millions have been entrusted by Providence to this country, to have and to hold for the great ends of Hindoo conversion and civilization; it is urged that it is a sacred trust that, for better or worse, we have undertaken; and that now, however ill suited the union may be, whether we have to destroy the natives or they us, we cannot and dare not abandon it! This is all sheer cant, and these eloquent enthusiasts believe as much of what they say as I do; which, I confess, is nothing at all.

India is just as much intrusted to us as Hungary and Italy are to Austria, Java to the Dutch, or Algeria to France: it is intrusted to us inasmuch as we were strong enough to take it, and have been strong enough to keep it. We need not trouble ourselves about our right to India; it is a very good one, and as ancient as it is good; it is

> "The ancient rule, the good old plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And those should keep who can;"

the right of the strong over the weak; there is none better, and it is the only right that, since the world was made, has never been successfully disputed. It

is the right by which William ruled England; Pepin and Clovis, France; the Lombards, Italy; the Moguls, Hindostan; the Tartars, China; and the Arabs, Spain. And so long as we possess it, we shall rule India, without laying too much stress on the very doubtful fact of its being a divine right or a sacred trust. But suppose that right ceases; suppose the natives of India, instructed in our discipline and science of war, and armed with our weapons, find in turn that they possess that unanswerable right, and turn us out, who is to blame then? Certainly not us, who loudly express sympathy for Italians, Hungarians, or any other people who choose to fancy they are struggling for their liberty and independence! You hear it asserted that the possession of superior civilization gives the right to rule in every country; but if that is so, surely our present sympathies are wofully misplaced! Nobody doubts the Austrians are more civilised than the murderous revolutionists of Italy, or that the Russians and Americans are more fit to develop the destinies of the human family than the Tartars and Red Men they have respectively displaced; but we do not on that account always palliate their usurpation of territory. Nobody probably doubts that in the days of Boadicea the polished Roman was a more civilized animal than the skin-clad Briton; yet her right to expel the invaders from her kingdom has never been called in question;

and the fact of her burning seventy thousand Roman soldiers in the city of London has not deprived her of the title of heroine.

You said the other day you could feel no sympathy for the natives of India in this present struggle. It is quite intelligible; but, you may depend upon it, it is unjust. Abuse and censure them as you like, you must never lose sight of the great fact, that, after all, India is their country, not ours; and we have no earthly right in it but that of conquest. As I said before, that is a very good right; but still, if the owners of the soil think otherwise, and dislike us, and wish to get rid of us, and enjoy their own again, who shall deny them the right to do so if they can? Say what we like, and flatter ourselves as we may, this fact is certain, that the natives of India, taken *en masse*, can never really like us or our rule. Neither patriotism, piety, interest, or ambition can ever attach them to our sway in their own country; their views, hopes, and interests are in every way antagonistic to ours. They believe that in all the fundamental questions of justice, inheritance, religion, and caste, for which we despise them, they are right and we are wrong; and who amongst us, living in a free country, shall deny their right to act up to their convictions? Nobody can palliate the atrocities and cruelties of the mutinous sepoys and their followers: their acts prove, to the shame of human

nature, that the lesser gift of instinct is incapable of urging even the fiercest of animals to the excess of cruelty to which men can be degraded by the nobler attribute of reason. It requires reason to animate the fiendish minds of those who for some months have been running riot in India. You are right! we cannot sympathise with men who perpetrated such acts as these; we turn from them with a shudder, as we would from a vampire, or other unnatural monster; but, nevertheless, we are wrong to visit on the whole native races of India the hellish acts of many of the jail-birds and outcasts of these Indian cities. If a man from the moon were to judge of the humanity of the whole British people by the number of brutes yearly convicted of beating, kicking, trampling, and tearing women—and not women only, but their own wives, the mothers of their children, the sharers of their lot—he would not form a very elevated conception of our moral qualities. Wherever the mutiny has extended in India, every prison has been emptied of its inmates. In England the law is strong, and all the great miscreants and desperadoes are in restraint; should we have much reason to congratulate ourselves on our moral superiority if all the hell-hounds of our jails were let loose on a community where law and order were at an end? Was there any case at Cawnpore more atrocious and unnatural than that tried at the late assizes at Taunton?

The sepoys vented their devilish cruelties on women who were of a different creed and nation, whom they had learnt to consider as enemies, and whose race they wished to degrade and disgrace before all people; not on those whom they had sworn to love, and whom they were bound by every better instinct of human nature to cherish and protect. The natives of India have a reason for heaping insult and torture on the women of England, that has never existed in this country, and God grant it never may. What the high-caste Mussulmans and Hindoos value most in the world, more even than their religion and their caste, and far more than their life or riches, is the honour and sanctity of their women; the deadliest injury they can offer to their enemy is injury or insult to the females of his family: it is a disgrace that death alone can wipe away. What we consider the wanton cruelty of husbands destroying their wives and daughters, when all hope is lost, in these Eastern wars, is in fact merely having recourse to the only means that remains to them of saving their women from dishonour, which they dread a thousand times more than death itself. This feeling is closely connected with their religion and caste; and the man who would hesitate to sacrifice his own or his wife's life to save her honour, would be for ever outcast and disgraced. The natives imagined that by abandoning the European women to the insults and atroci-

ties of the lowest scoundrels in the country, they would heap a disgrace on the British name and character throughout the East that never could be effaced. Frightful as all these atrocities have been, they are not new. "There is no new thing under the sun," says Solomon; "it hath already been of old time which was before us." And when we read in Holy Writ how "they took all the cities, and they utterly destroyed all the women and children and little ones: and so the Israelites showed them no mercy and left none to remain;"—or glance at the account of the sacking of Rome by Bourbon in 1527 —"In oculis maritorum dilectissimæ conjuges ab Hispanorum lixis constupratæ sunt;"[1] noblemen's children, and of the wealthiest citizens, reserved for princes' beds, the sport of every common soldier and kept for concubines; senators and cardinals themselves dragged along the streets and put to exquisite torments, to confess where their money was hid; the rest, murdered in heaps, lay stinking in the streets; infants' brains dashed out before their mothers' eyes, &c.;—we are obliged to acknowledge that the atrocities of Cawnpore and Delhi are not new; but have indeed been of old time that was before us!

It is, I am afraid, undeniable, that in all ages and conditions of the human race, whether amongst the Israelites of the days of Joshua, the French and

[1] As Sejanus' daughter was by the hangman in public.

Spanish in the days of chivalry, or the Hindoos and Mussulmans of to-day—whether at Ramah, Rome, or Cawnpore—the most fiendish promptings of the human mind will always find human fiends to execute them.

CHAPTER IV.

Prestige—Near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin—Our Indian Empire too large—Grievous want of Educated Europeans—Blighting effects of inefficient Rule—State of Madras—Districts of Tanjore and Guntoor.

I ALLUDED just now to the requirements of prestige as the third argument against anything like a retrograde movement in India; but, although familiar and plausible enough, it will not bear a moment's examination. It is maintained that our prestige compels us, at all hazards and at every cost, to maintain our present hold on that country; and we are warned, that if we once recede one inch in India, we shall inevitably be driven out of the country.

"Il y a des choses que tout le monde dit, parcequ'elles ont été dites une fois," says Montesquieu; and the argument that the power of England depends upon her prestige, is one of those indefinite assertions handed about without any greater claim upon our respect than that all the world says it. The literal meaning of the word prestige is illusion: an illusion is a sham; and the argument therefore reduces itself to this—that, in order to keep up a sham, to pre-

serve the semblance of a power we do not possess, we should be prepared to submit the resources of this country to a heavy and dangerous strain. Depend upon it, if prestige, at it is called, is the only argument we possess for retaining our hold on India, the sooner we let it go the better; for it is a very rotten one indeed, and if ever we trust to it in a moment of danger, we shall find ourselves cruelly deceived.

Prestige without power is not worth much, as we saw by the late fight for championship; and if by swaggering about the world and by dilating *ad nauseam* about our power and might, we excite the envy and hostility of our neighbours and have to fight, we shall make but an indifferent show on the occasion, if our power turn out to be nothing but prestige. But the power of England is not a sham: it is a reality, a great fact, and requires no illusion to make it pass current in the world. If our Indian empire strengthens our power, well and good—by all means let us keep it; but if it does not, and we only retain our hold on it to bolster up our prestige, why, we are strong enough to let it go.

If India, in its present gigantic proportions, is a cankerous limb that exhausts our resources and weakens our constitution, why, in Heaven's name, let us cut it off; or at least so much of it as is hopelessly diseased! I do not think it so bad as all that;

and I fully believe that, with judgment and decision, India may yet become, not perhaps so showy, but a sounder and more profitable appanage to this country than it is at present. With your classical lore, you will probably remember a sarcasm of Cicero's, addressed to those who, in their eagerness to defend some minor point, sacrificed the argument itself: "Urbem Philosophiæ proditis, dum Castella defenditis;" and we must always remember, that in unreasonably defending our Indian possessions, under all circumstances, we may ourselves endanger the safety of the city for the sake of a detached fort. Near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin; and dear as India may be to us, there is, nearer home, much that is dearer still. It is a mistake to suppose the march of empire must be constantly forward: it has happened over and over again in the history of the world, that nations have abandoned useless or troublesome possessions. You remember how the great historian describes the opening policy of the Emperor Adrian. "The resignation of all the Eastern conquests of Trajan was the first measure of his reign. He restored to the Parthians the election of an independent sovereign—withdrew the Roman garrison from the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria —and, in compliance with the precepts of Augustus, once more established the Euphrates as the frontier of his empire." Adrian was an accomplished and

far-seeing statesman; and it does not appear that this contraction of Roman power at all affected the prosperity of the empire. You must not suppose from this that I am in favour of relinquishing India altogether—far from it. As I said before, I believe it may, with energy and judgment, be made ten times more advantageous to this country than it yet has been; but I am still convinced that our present possessions in that country are far too large, and that the only distinct policy ever professed by the Court of Directors—that which distinctly forbade their proconsuls to increase their territory—was the best that could be conceived, and should even now be adopted, if possible. The small number of educated Englishmen we can afford to keep in India are lost amidst the two hundred millions who inhabit it: it is not leaven sufficient to leaven the huge mass of the native population; in many cases it only embitters and spoils it; the European element in India is not sufficiently powerful to do any one thing well. It is not that talent, or energy, or will, are wanting to those employed; but there are not enough of them. Everything we undertake fails partially or entirely for want of a sufficient number of educated Europeans to carry it out: our justice, good in itself, is wofully imperfect in practice; and acts of cruelty and oppression are daily committed in our name, and ostensibly under our authority, that disgrace the

name of England. Public works, if not utterly abandoned, are wofully neglected; and, in many cases, where something has been attempted in that direction, want of skilled labour and science has foiled our efforts and wasted our revenue. Our police is the most tyrannical and oppressive in the world; and so little is it under our control, that it was only by accident that we heard, two years ago, of the inhuman tortures daily inflicted on our Indian subjects, in the name of the English Government, by a body of men organised nominally to secure "the safety, peace, and convenience of the community!" After more than half a century's occupation, our knowledge of those we profess to civilise is so slight, that, till tribes like the Santhals, Bheels, Khoonds, and a dozen others that could be mentioned, take it into their heads to rebel, their existence is not even known to the general community. This *cannot* be right; and, say what we will, our rule cannot possibly be very beneficial or very valuable to a people few of us have ever even heard of. All of these evils proceed from one and the same source—the want of Europeans of energy and education to direct the administration of government. They prove that our present possessions are too great for our means; that, in fact, we have undertaken a task we cannot perform; and that in professing to rule India according to the enlightened principles of European progress

and justice, we are in reality deceiving ourselves and disgusting our subjects.

Ten times the number of Englishmen, at least, are necessary to establish anything like British principles of government in India; and so impossible is it for one man, however gifted and energetic, to contend every hour of his life with the deep-seated prejudices and customs of many hundreds of thousands, that we constantly see the best men, after years of earnest and unceasing labour, forced in mere despair to adopt the apathy and indifference of the Asiatic, without in turn imparting the vigour and energy of the European.

There is no man bold enough at the present time to counsel any secession of dominion in India, even if he thought it advisable, which probably few do; but perhaps the time will come when the policy of it will be acknowledged; we must be careful not to defer the consideration of the question too long. I believe that the present staff of Europeans in India, collected in any one presidency, would soon render it a dominion twice as remunerative as the present overgrown empire; we should then actually accomplish what we now merely profess, and possess the means as well as the will to establish the Christian faith, and the benefits of an improved and progressive civilization amongst the stagnating millions of India.

Let us take the Madras Presidency, for instance; and indeed that is the most valuable, and best suited to our requirements. We have there a territory embracing 132,000 square miles, and containing 22,000,000 of inhabitants: it was formerly the wealthiest part of India, and the fabulous sums drawn from it during the first invasion of the Mahommedan monarchs of Hindostan are incredible.

It possesses means of irrigation, that boundless source of wealth and prosperity in India, that are enjoyed by no other country under heaven. It is well supplied with the means of inland navigation, and along its western coasts extends a mountainous region, where all the grains, fruits, and flowers of England flourish in astonishing luxuriance, and where any number of generations of Englishmen might succeed each other without loss of energy or stamina.

We have held this magnificent country longer than any other portion of India—more than a hundred years. It was the richest country in the world under its native Hindoo princes—what has it become with all the aids of European science and energy? Poverty marks the condition of the population, and stagnation and decay the public works of the country. One-fourth of its magnificent tanks are in utter and hopeless ruin (see Appendix); its roads exist merely in name; torture is practised in open noonday; we have not gained—neither, I fear, have we deserved—the affec-

tion of our subjects; and if our Raj was to terminate to-morrow, it is probable that, with the exception of the money-lenders and bankers, who alone have thriven under our rule, not a dozen natives would regret our departure. And why is this? Madras is not worse governed than the rest of the country, or its civil servants less energetic than those employed in the other presidencies; but we have held the country longer, and the result of an inefficient government has had a longer time to develop itself.

Our means are entirely disproportioned to the end. To superintend the well-being of a country consisting of 132,000 square miles; to make roads; to open canals; to keep in working order the magnificent work of irrigation that made the Carnatic wealthy before England was a nation; to enforce our justice amongst 22,000,000 of natives, equally indifferent to our policy and our morality; to repress native violence; to establish our faith, and, in fact, to govern as we may say the human race ought to be governed, there are nominally 180 civil servants, sixty of whom are generally absent on sick or other leave, and possibly as many officers drawn from the army to civil employ—about one to every 70,000 of the population!

The government is not bad; in theory it is excellent, but it is inefficient and lamentably wanting in practice; will any change of name, or transfer of

patronage, give it more vigour and vitality? Will the Imperial Government, if it assumes the direction of the country, attempt to remedy these fundamental evils? Will it at once acknowledge that our rule is weak and inadequate, and by sending out ten times the number of educated Europeans, apply without delay the only cure that is in their power? if not, all our squabbles concerning the superior advantage of one rule or another cannot possibly do any good to India, and will only tend to set class against class in this country.

If we are to carry out our professions, and rule India according to European ideas, we must have Europeans to do it, and plenty of them. At present the government is a farce; it is like a glass of wine in a pail of water—the small quantity of European energy is lost in the immensity of native indifference and apathy.

Glance through the following description of two districts in the Madras Presidency, drawn by Colonel Cotton, of the Madras Engineers, and gather from that what India might become if it were really developed.

"In the district of Tanjore, which is taken care of, irrigated, protected from floods, drained, and provided with common roads (though not with better communications), the revenue steadily rises, till from £300,000 it becomes £500,000 a year; the population increases from 800,000 or 1,000,000 to 1,500,000;

and the land reaches a saleable value of at least £4,000,000 sterling—equal, considering the difference in the value of money in India, to £24,000,000 in England."

In the district of Guntoor, on the other hand, all such works are utterly neglected; and in one year a famine occurs, which sweeps away 250,000 out of 500,000, and causes a loss of revenue, during the next ten or twelve years, of not less than £800,000; while not an acre of land is saleable! Look on this picture and on that! Guntoor with an area of 4,752 square miles, has a population of only 570,000 souls; whilst Tanjore with only 3,781 square miles, contains a prosperous multitude considerably exceeding a million and a-half. Guntoor is the rule, Tanjore the exception. Such, however, would not be the case, if there were a sufficiency of Europeans. The whole of Madras would equal Tanjore in prosperity, and not only equal it, but, in all probability, far exceed it; for the sum spent to produce this remarkable improvement was incredibly small compared with the result attained. I would ask any sensible man which is better—a dozen districts like Tanjore, or a hundred like Guntoor?

CHAPTER V.

Composition of the Indian services—Necessity of India to the existing condition of the upper middling classes—Rewards of educated labour—Indian wealth diverted from its former channel—Flourishing condition of matrimony amongst Anglo-Indians—Continued drain on the capital of India.

I MENTIONED before, that, in my opinion, the strongest argument that can be used for keeping India, or a sufficient portion of it, is the extensive field it opens to the educated labour of England, and the high level at which the liberal pay and emoluments of the Company's service maintains the reward of the labour of educated men.

A very short examination of the Staff of the East India Company will, I think, at once establish this argument.

The civil service of India numbers altogether about 880: 550 in Bengal, 180 in Madras, and 150 in Bombay. The military service numbers about 2,736 officers in Bengal, 1,930 in Madras, and 1,160 in Bombay; or, altogether, 5,826 in the three presidencies. The Bombay marine numbers 160, and the ecclesiastical establishment of the country amounts to 120. We have thus 6,986 men of the educated

classes employed in India. Of these, the 880 civilians are probably as highly educated a body of men as exist in any country; the 120 clergy represent the average amount of learning possessed by the ecclesiastical body of the kingdom; and the army and marine are composed of men equally well educated as those entering the Queen's service.

The whole of this number are drawn from the middling, or rather the upper middling, classes; scarcely one is supplied by the aristocracy, the great landed gentry, or the merchant princes of this country.

Ten per cent. of those who go to India are the sons of the clergy; about forty-five per cent. the sons of merchants, barristers, small squires, men of good connexions and large families, &c. Thirty per cent. are the sons of Company officers, and about fifteen the sons of Queen's officers. This is essentially the upper middling class of the country, and embraces a very large proportion of what may be called the expensively educated classes of the community. It is this class that has supplied England with her Clives, her Hastings's, her Lawrences, her Havelocks, Malcolms, and Outrams; and that in France has sent forth the Mirabeaus, the Robespierres, the Louis Blancs, and Ledru Rollins, of past and present history.

Suppose for a moment we were to lose India, and

the whole of this magnificent staff of educated men were to be thrown adrift; if, instead of sending out annually about 300 of the educated youth of the country, we were compelled to drive them to the already overstocked professions, what a crush there would be.

In which of the learned professions—the Church, the Bar, or Medicine, or even in the army, navy, or in trade—could we find room to insert a tenth part of this number with any chance of success? A very extended system of emigration of the educated classes, or an immediate decline in the rewards of educated labour, and the employment of the youth of the upper middling classes in occupations that at present are considered beneath them, must immediately follow the closing of the Indian avenues of emolument; the value of educated labour would almost immediately sink, and with it the quality and amount of the education itself; parents would not long continue to pay £300 or £400 a year to prepare their sons for the enjoyment of salaries of £80 or £100. The competition for employment, already great, would be excessive, and the spirit of discontent would inevitably increase and multiply. For fifty or sixty years India has been to the brains and intellect of this country what the Western States have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus

energy or ambition of our educated population. There is no mob, however numerous and violent, half so dangerous as an educated middling class, irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire.

If we consider the price that is paid for educated labour in India, we shall see that it is at least twice as high as that existing in any other country. The number and salaries of the Indian services may be roughly stated as follows:—

			Per annum.
Civil service	800	averaging	£1,000
Military service	5,826	„	480
Bombay marine	160	„	400
*Ecclesiastical establishment	120	„	1,000

We have thus a sum of considerably over four and a half millions, divided amongst the two services, which would give an average salary of £650 to nearly 7,000 people. This does not include the princely pay and allowances of governors-general, governors of presidencies, chief justices, judges—uncovenanted civil servants, many receiving from £1,000 to £1,500 a year—commanders-in-chief, and their staffs; and the fifteen hundred Queen's officers, attached to Queen's regiments and receiving double pay.

* That is to say, the cost of the ecclesiastical establishment is £122,000 a year; but one can hardly suppose the average of salaries equals £1,000 a year.

All counted, we may consider the number of those directly benefitted at nearer nine than eight thousand; and their united emoluments at over five millions.

Ferishta tells us that, from the earliest days of Indian history, it was the habit, if not the imperative duty, of every sovereign to collect his own individual treasure; and great was the oppression this habit has, at various times, entailed on their subjects. But the treasure collected by one sovereign was spent by another; not a rupee ever left the country, and at some period or another was sure to circulate anew. Now it is different. If the sums remitted during many years to this country had been collected in the regal coffers, they would amount to a treasure far greater than that amassed by any sovereign that ever lived; but although drawn from the country, they do not remain in it. They never circulate anew; they leave it altogether, and the gross capital of the country is annually decreased by several millions. The surplus wealth does not now go to build palaces and adorn gardens on the banks of the Ganges or the Jumna, to erect a Taj Mahal or purchase a Koh-i-Noor, to keep thousands of elephants and troops of dancing girls, &c.; but comes to this country to build and embellish the stately mansions of Bayswater and Little Asia, to form fir plantations in Scotland, to drain land and purchase estates in every part of the country, and occasionally even to sway the votes of

some free and enlightened constituency. Of course, as far as we are concerned, the money is much better spent in this manner and in this country, than ever it was by the native princes; but still one can understand the natives not thinking so, and even complaining bitterly of our systematically decreasing their wealth without making any adequate return. Ten millions annually withdrawn from a country amounts to a large sum, if continued through a period of thirty or forty years. The loss of three or four hundred millions may impoverish even India; and will account for the gradual conversion of a gold currency into a silver one, and a silver one into that of cowries and copper infinitesimals. Ten millions I fancy an exaggerated sum; but when we remember the home expenses of the Indian Government amount to four millions sterling, and consider the very large proportion of the five millions paid to the Company's officers, that, in the form of pensions, salaries, remittances, and the purchase of European articles of luxury or comfort, finds its way to this country, we shall have no difficulty in accounting for seven or eight. There is no body of men in the world more generous than the Anglo-Indian; and there are few of those unmarried who have not mothers, sisters, young brothers, or relatives and friends to whom they remit their surplus pay and allowances. But very little even of the money actually spent by Euro-

peans in India, remains in the country; the greater portion of it leaves indirectly to pay for foreign articles of consumption. Nearly everything the Englishman uses in India comes from abroad: his carriages, harness, saddles, guns, ammunition, clothes, boots, hosiery, books, beer, wine, and the hundred little nick-nacks and articles of luxury that become almost necessaries in the climate of India, come from England; his horses from Arabia or Persia; his cheroots from Manilla; so that the portion of his salary actually disbursed on articles which go to encourage the production of the country, and reward the industry of the people, is very small; and, in fact, is almost entirely confined to the pay of servants, house-keeping and rents, travelling and shikar expenses, and the bazaar accounts.

If a man is blessed with a wife, poetically described as "the peculiar gift of heaven," of course his remittances are more direct; the prolonged and often unavoidable separation that attends Indian married life, the expensive education of children, girls and boys, and the thousand and one items of a home establishment where the master is absent, will always ensure by far the greater portion of his income coming direct to England.

In considering the advantages this country derives from the possession of India, we must not omit the immense impulse it gives to matrimony amongst the

upper middling classes; and when we remember that according to the first political economists of the day, one of our greatest national dangers lies in the great number of the population excluded from matrimony, by what the author of "Companions of my Solitude" calls "the great vice of great cities," this counteracting influence is no small subject for congratulation.

There can be no doubt that Nature intended all of us to marry; but unfortunately, with the best intentions, she has not furnished all with the necessary means to do so. Notwithstanding all the agitation on the subject, and the undoubted truth and justice of the arguments of those who support them, frugal marriages are not popular in this country, especially with the ladies; and, in the present highly luxurious state of society, never will be. Marriage is now a luxury confined to the rich—it is *caviare* to the general public; but it is not so with the Anglo-Indian, whose ample pay and emoluments, and the undoubted existence of a widow's pension, supplies at once with the income and settlements necessary to secure that "one solid comfort, an eternal wife," years before contemporary curates, barristers, or clerks dare think of such a blessing. The Anglo-Indian is not dilatory in culling the orange flowers within his reach. Marriage is a most popular institution in India; and I suppose there are a greater number of married men in the Company's service, than in any corresponding

number of men in the world. Everybody marries—soldiers, civilians, and even the uncovenanted. The ecclesiastical establishment, especially, are married to a man; but that they always do—it is their habit everywhere. I should say, that, take the Indian services through, one in every four was married; and as one marriage with another contributes, on an average, four children to the population of the country, we have, besides the innumerable relatives and pensioners of the 7,000 salaried officers of the Company themselves, about 1,700 ladies with *their* relatives and friends, and nearly 7,000 little brown babies, all of whom share the profits of the Indian services. When we consider that this does not include the savings and remittances of the uncovenanted, the governors-general, governors, commanders-in-chief, chief justices, judges, innumerable staff *employés*, and 40,000 non-commissioned officers and privates of the Queen's army, and that, moreover, one-fourth at least, if not one-third of the two services are always on leave in this country, I think we shall easily understand that, whether the amount annually drawn from India amounts to £10,000,000 or not, it does not fall far short of the entire sum paid to the Company's and Queen's officers of all grades and classes in that country.

CHAPTER VI.

Good governnment more difficult to define than bad—Absurdity of a double government—Composition of Court of Directors—Their remaining power very limited—Their distribution of patronage honest and just—Danger of entrusting Indian patronage to the Queen's Government.

I SOMETIMES fancy that the subjects men most study, are those they most commonly disagree upon. The subject of government has, more or less, occupied the thoughts of every thinking man since the days of Adam. Between two and three thousand books have been written about it: Pufferdorf, Wilks, Bossuet, Machiavel, Montesquieu, and Voltaire have, in turn, devoted their most rational as well as their more visionary moments to the question; but all to no purpose. No two of them agree on any one point; and the best possible form of government is just as much a philosopher's stone in the nineteenth century as it was in the days of Solon or Lycurgus. It is just as impossible to determine exactly what kind of government is best suited to mankind in general, as it is to say what is the best shape of a hat or a coat. Tastes differ as well as requirements: in one country men wear tail-coats, in another jackets; some nations

like high crowns and narrow brims, others broad brims and no crowns; in one climate a head-dress is used to keep out the heat, in another the cold; and so on *ad infinitum*. A coat is just as often employed for show as use; and so are governments. You never can be sure of what is popular with others by what you like yourself; and you constantly see what to you appears the most ridiculous and useless form of government flourish with perfect success in one part of the world, that could not exist an hour in any other.

But if it is hard to define good government, it is not so difficult to point out what is bad; under no possible condition of the human race can that form of government be called good, which so divides responsibility that it is no person's duty to do anything in particular, and nobody is blamed for not doing it. So fatal did Napoleon consider divided responsibility, that it was a household word with him, that one bad general was better than two good ones. What his opinion, therefore, would have been of a system where one influence is bad, and the other far worse, it is easy to imagine.

We must go back to the days of the first dynasties of the Eurysthenidæ and the Proclidæ, the rival families who shared the throne of Sparta because no one could decide which possessed the prior claim, or we must turn to the present quaint arrangement

existing at Bangkok, for a parallel to the system of the double government of Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row. A strong man may contend successfully for a long period against the fatal arts of *one* ignorant practitioner; but nature never yet indulged in a constitution sound enough to battle long with *two*.

Such is the unhappy condition of India under a double government: it might struggle on under one bad system, but two together are fatal.

> "One doctor singly like the sculler plies,
> The patient struggles and by inches dies;
> But two physicians, like a pair of oars,
> Waft him right swiftly to the Stygian shores."

The working of this double and antagonistic govenment is best understood by the consideration of one of the great laws of mechanical science. You were at Oxford, and consequently never had the pleasure of studying a charming little work called, "An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics, for the use of Colleges and Universities," by W. Whewell, B.D. In that the youthful mind, aiming at the honour of a Poll degree, is taught by the fourteenth elementary proposition, that "if the adjacent sides of a parallelogram represent the component forces in direction and magnitude, the diagonal will represent the resultant force in direction;" by that it is meant, that if two forces act upon a body in diverging direc-

tions, the body will move in some direction between the two. The Court of Directors and the Board of Control have been the component forces; and the progress of India, meandering between the two diverging policies, and inclining to whichever happened for the hour to be the strongest, represents the resultant force in direction.

You may regard the double government of India in the same way as you would the Siamese twins, either as a curiosity or an abortion; but by no possible means can you see in it anything but a freak or an accident of political science.

But let us be just; "En faveur des beautés on pardonne aux défauts," as the old song says; and, absurd and impossible as has been the principle of the double government, it has yet in practice been attended with an amount of success that entitles it to careful consideration. In the first place, if the nature of the government is anomalous, so is the condition of the country it is intended to govern It is hard enough to devise a constitution by which twenty-five millions of the human race can rule themselves in peace and quietness; but what theory that was ever propounded can ensure that twenty-five millions being able to tax, govern, and instruct other two hundred millions at a distance of twelve thousand miles, who do not wish to be taxed, governed, and instructed? The whole thing has been an accident

unparalleled in the history of the world; the empire fell gradually into our hands, almost without an effort on our part; and the government has risen as gradually, the child of circumstances, equally without thought or preparation. Parliament has now taken up the subject of India, and appears eager to do something at once to remedy a state of affairs that every one sees is most perilous. It is probable they will, at no distant period, abolish the Court of Directors; whether in so doing they will not of two evils choose the greatest, may well be doubted. Before it is swept away, let us have a look at the Court of Directors, as it has existed for the last forty or fifty years.

The greater number of directors are men of Indian experience, elected by the proprietors of East India Stock; and, although a great deal has at various times been said about the corrupt practices employed at their election, it is very doubtful whether the competition for government employ, or the contests for seats in the legislature, do not open the door to quite as much underhand influence as any canvass for a seat in the Honourable Court of Directors. We are told that, when a vacancy occurs, the directors look round amongst the proprietors of East India Stock, and when they have found a man who has sat in the seat of custom long enough "to waxen fat and shine," they tacitly agree to elect him. The length of a

man's purse, and not his knowledge of India, is said to be the only necessary qualification for office; and the motherly invocation of Sancho's wife, when she heard of her husband's promotion, "May the Lord make him fit for his office, and conduct him in the way that will be most for the advantage of his children," the only prayer said at his installation by his neighbourly fellow-directors. No doubt the rich candidate has a decided pull over his poorer opponent; but where on earth has he not? Any arguments employed to account for the advantages enjoyed by superior wealth in all worldly competition, is so much patience and paper thrown away; money has gilded the virtues and increased the claims of its possessor ever since the world was made; and we have only to cast our eye over the number of colossal fortunes in the present Cabinet, to see that the money qualification is an unanswerable recommendation elsewhere than in Leadenhall Street. Three directors are selected by their fellows to constitute a secret committee, who form the medium between the Board of Control and the Governor-General; there is an anomaly in this arrangement that is inexplicable. The instructions of the Home Government are communicated to the Secret Committee, who forward them at once to India in the name of the whole Court of Directors, although in reality they are not permitted to enlighten their colleagues as to the

nature of the despatch to which their authority is attached, till long after it is beyond all reach of recall. When the Charter was renewed in 1854, the Government insisted upon nominating six additional directors; and when the future fortunes of the Court of Directors are debated, I think it will be found that these nominations will turn the scale against them. They inherit none of the traditional policy or interest of the Court of Directors; they are nominated without any regard whatever to the wishes or inclinations of the Court of Proprietors or of the other directors, and they feel confident that, so long as they support the Government scheme, whatever it may be, whether it succeed or whether it fail, their fortunes will be equally secured. They were the thin edge of the wedge carefully introduced; and I think they will cause a split in a camp where unity alone can give strength.

The Court of Directors regulate the internal government of India, and possess immediate control over the revenue and taxation of the country, and the promotion or removal of their own civil and military officers; but their political power is almost extinct. They make wars, it is true (and pay for them too), and peace also when desired; but it is according to the caprice of the Home Government, and not of their own free will. They also professedly appoint the governors-general, governors of

presidencies, commanders-in-chief, and other high and mighty officials; but in reality they have nothing whatever to do with these appointments beyond endorsing the nomination of Government. They are indeed considerably fallen from their high political estate; but nothing in this world is altogether wretched; and though the greater portion of their political glory is departed, they have yet one item left, and this, like the last of a brood of ducklings who have all taken to the water and left the parent hen, is more valued because the rest are gone. The single political duckling that remains to the Court resembles the power possessed by the ancient body of the Ephori in Lacedæmon: they cannot appoint their own viceroys, but they can recall those appointed by the Government. I do not know what judgment they may have formerly displayed in the exercise of this power; but the recall of Lord Ellenborough, the greatest statesman by far who had been in India since the days of Warren Hastings, was testy and impolitic in the extreme, and reminds one excessively of the enlightened policy of the aforementioned venerable body, who imprisoned one king for marrying a little wife, and another for striving to repress the luxury and venality of the State.

Although all the most lucrative Indian appointments are appropriated by the Home Government, as too good for any not belonging to the

governing classes, the Court of Directors still retain very large, and, as we have seen, very valuable patronage; and their distribution of it supplies them with the strongest argument that can be adduced in favour of their rule. Whatever may be urged against them for their shortcomings in other respects, they may with truth maintain that no Government ever existed, in any age or country, whose patronage has been administered more in accordance with the rules of justice and the requirements of the State, than that of the Court of Directors. Their distribution of patronage has secured to the country a class of public servants who, as regards integrity and acquirements, can compare favourably with any similar body of men in the world; and it is in the long list of distinguished men of the Company's service who occupy prominent niches in the Temple of Fame, that we see the real secret of England's astounding progress in the East. It is thrown in the teeth of the directors, that they appoint nobody but their own sons, nephews, and relations. In the first place, the direct appointments are very few, and entirely confined to the army; and the Chairman himself can do no more for his own son, than give him a nomination that will give him the opportunity of competing with scores of others at an open examination. We have seen, by a former analysis of the Company's service, what this frightful nepotism

really amounts to; that the sons, nephews, and nominees of the directors, of whom we 'hear' so much, are in fact the very men we want; they are the pick of the upper middling classes of the country —the sons of clergymen, barristers, and merchants, of officers of the army and navy, of civilians and Company's officers; they are, in fact, drawn from the very class that most requires the outlet of India as a safety-valve for its educated surplus. The transfer of the patronage from the Court of Directors to the Government would be the worst kind of class legislation; it would not be merely depriving one body of men of certain privileges in favour of another, but it would be excluding one class to make way for another.

The days of Dowbs are not yet ended; and we know pretty well how the Indian patronage would be distributed if it fell entirely into the hands of the Government of this country, as at present constituted. The upper ten thousand have their public offices and diplomatic service, their numerous staff appointments, their rapid promotions in both army and navy, their deaneries and benefices in the Church, snug berths about the Court, and the great plums of Indian patronage to partition amongst themselves: these are their birthrights, and nobody wishes to deprive them of them. India is the empire of the upper middling classes; it is their birthright; and no

other class in the country have one hundredth part of the claim to the advantages of it that they have. The energy of men of this class—of Clive and Hastings—founded the Indian empire; and the rare military and administrative talents of men of the same class—of Malcolm, Munroe, Lawrence, and others—have prolonged its marvellous existence to this day. The right of the upper middling classes to the lion's share of Indian patronage is undoubted, and their necessity for it urgent; they cannot, indeed, well do without it; and any Parliament, therefore, that suffers the removal of the present landmarks of Indian patronage will be guilty of an act of injustice, and a want of foresight, that cannot but be attended with most disastrous results to the prosperity of this country.

CHAPTER VII.

Ordinary qualifications of a President of the Board of Control—His Secretaries—His Duties and Power—Difficulty of arriving at the truth on Indian matters—*Entente cordiale* between President and Chairman.

NOTHING can more completely illustrate the indifference of the public with regard to India, than the principle on which its chief ruler, in this country, is usually selected. In nine cases out of ten the appointment of President of the Board of Control has been the reward of comparative inefficiency—mind, I do not say of inefficiency, but of comparative inefficiency. The selection is usually made in this wise—the distinguished individual who has received Her Majesty's commands to form a Ministry, reviews those noble lords and gentlemen who are to compose his cabinet, and appoints them to important posts according to their respective merits or interest; he gradually descends from foreign to home and colonial secretaries, Board of Trade, and so on, till he comes to the last, when, addressing to him the immortal words of Dogberry to neighbour Seacole, "You are thought to be the most senseless and fit man for the

constable of the watch, therefore bear you the lantern," he sends him straight off to Cannon Row with an ill-trimmed lantern to throw a very hazy light on a very dark subject. I cannot understand how men of large or even independent fortunes can be persuaded to accept either the office of President of the India Board, or that of first Lord of the Admiralty; for I declare I know no position in life that must be more trying to a man of ordinary modesty or delicacy of feeling, than that of being constantly referred to on a subject of which he knows nothing—being constituted the Sir Oracle on a question he is as ignorant of as the grave. Every public man knows more or less of the foreign, home, or colonial policy of this country; but to ninety-nine men out of a hundred, India has always been a sealed book, which they have had neither desire nor inducement to open.

The President of the Board of Control is assisted by two Under-secretaries of State, who, like the sea-lords at the Admiralty, are supposed to know something about subjects of which their chief knows nothing whatever. One of the present under-secretaries, Sir George Clerk, is probably the first and soundest authority on Indian matters in England: he has been all his years in the country, and has worked his way up through the grades of the civil service, till he attained the rank of Governor of the

Presidency of Bombay—the highest office any of the Company's officers have ever filled. He knows more of India than the whole of the Government put together. Just now his knowledge is invaluable; but, unfortunately, he is only a subordinate where he ought to be supreme; he can only advise when consulted, and, of course, if he wishes to be consulted again, he must be careful only to give such advice as may be palatable to his superiors. Nothing can be more fatal to the prospects of a subordinate than any uncalled-for energy, that shocks the nerves of official routine; moreover, however well informed on any subject, he must never appear to know more than his master.

> "The assuming wit
> Who deems himself so wise
> As his mistaken patron to advise,
> Let him not dare to vent his dangerous thought—
> A noble fool was never in a fault."

Certainly, the President of the India Board is not expected to know much about India; he is only put in the office to act as the link that connects the golden chain of Indian patronage with the Home Government; but still, the ignorance of Indian politics and requirements displayed by some noble lords and right honourable gentlemen, has been remarkable; I suppose it is in illustration of the old proverb, "The nearer the church, the farther from heaven," that the nearer you approach the fountain-

head of Indian government, the farther you are from all truth about India. It is, I believe, notorious, that the Board of Control is the last place in the country to refer to for any information regarding India, not strictly official. "Where any particular herb grows," says the Spanish proverb, "there is the ass to eat it:" ignorance of great Indian facts and principles has, for more than a quarter of a century, been the particular growth of Cannon Row; and the blunders and errors of a minister who knew little have always found a ready sponsor in a successor who knew less. In ordinary times, the duties of the President are not very laborious: they consist chiefly in doing little, and saying less; in trying to understand as much as he can in the shortest possible time, and in delivering himself of it in the fewest possible words: he should be somewhat of an actor, and able to play the character of Lord Burleigh, and nod with becoming mystery and importance when he does not know exactly what to say. Judicious silence is his most efficient weapon; and if he ever feels, as he sometimes must, that his continued silence verges on the ridiculous, he must solace himself with the hope, that by some, at least, he is esteemed of the number "of those who only are accounted wise for saying nothing."

The consent of the President of the Board of Control is necessary to all the acts of the Court of Direc-

tors; and, moreover, he can veto any one he chooses. The power of the veto is the most dangerous one that can possibly be intrusted to a self-confident man ignorant of his subject. The consciousness of not knowing exactly what is the right thing to do, and the dread of being considered incapable if he does nothing, causes a restless uneasiness, which generally ends in his doing the very worst thing possible at the moment; and, when this unfortunate energy has seized a President of the Board of Control, it has too often arrested the most judicious projects, or prompted the most senseless and extravagant policy.

There is one reason why the position of Presidents of the Board of Control is much less irksome than it would at first sight appear; and that is, the perfect indifference with which Parliament has hitherto treated all Indian matters; and the consequent facilities that have existed for avoiding all criticism. The House of Commons, like individuals, often prefers a convenient vice to a laborious virtue; and, on Indian matters especially, finds it far more comfortable to believe all that is told them than constantly to labour in the search of truth.

There is no weapon of political warfare more handy, and at the same time more effective, than official misrepresentation; and, when wielded with skill, it is generally conclusive. The two kinds of

official denial most commonly resorted to on Indian subjects are the patriotic and the direct.

The patriotic relies on the "civis Romanus sum" mode of argument; indulges in real Transatlantic bombast about the power, and justice, and glory of the British nation, &c. This is generally the birch kept in pickle for the injudicious member; and if used with skill and vigour by one in authority, as Lord Palmerston, it never fails to "bring down the House."

The direct is that most ordinarily employed in Indian matters; and when enforced by a fair amount of self-confidence and well-feigned astonishment at the ignorance of others, it also is very effective. When a member who *knows* such and such a thing to be black, asks why it is so, and is told point blank that it is not black at all, but white, his position is so ridiculous, and that of the minister who contradicts him so imposing, that no wonder he most frequently drops the subject in disgust, and allows the House to believe it whatever colour they like. The pertinacity with which official men *can* deny when it so pleases them, in the face of their own reports and blue books, is most remarkable. It is no use trying to fathom the depth of official perversion; and it is often better to shut your eyes, and see nothing, than to be denied your reason in the use of them.

How many a conscientious knight of the shire,

after vain efforts to unkennel the truth, has felt the truth of Mistress May's very practical philosophy—

> "O gentle knight, what would thy eyes avail,
> Though thou couldst see as far as ships can sail;
> 'T is better, sure, when blind deceived to be,
> Than be deluded when a man can see."

According to the Hindoo faith, the highest place of immortal bliss, called "Suttee," is devoted to Brahma himself, and only those of his favourites who have never told a falsehood in their lives. I often wonder whether ministers, who, year after year, systematically deny every one of the notorious cases of Indian misgovernment, have ever heard of such a place!

Ever since the double government has existed, the *entente cordiale* between the President of the India Board and the Chairman of the Company has been complete. Everybody knew there was occasionally a considerable amount of dirty linen in Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row; but somehow or another they always managed to wash it at home without attracting public attention. Whatever may have been their private squabbles, in public they have always been the firmest friends; and the constancy with which they have stood by each other on all occasions, and backed up each other's denials, has been admirable.

Whatever the subject, the burden of their song was always the same—their unison perfect; they were, in fact, the Arcadians of the House of Commons:

> "Both young Arcadians, both alike inspired
> To sing and answer as the song required."

But the imminent danger of the Court of Directors has changed all that; the rival powers have fallen out of the way, and are no longer one. After the firm confiding friendship, that during half a century could see no flaw or weakness in each other's character, it is rather amusing to witness the bitter enmity that now animates them! No doubt this difficulty is inconvenient for both of them, but for the country in general it is quite the reverse; we shall now, perhaps, have the satisfaction of seeing poor half-drowned Truth drawn up little by little from the well into which they had thrown her. What she will tell us when she comes to the top, remains to be seen.

CHAPTER VIII.

Danger of hasty legislation—Causes of Parliamentary apathy about India—Blame attached to House of Commons—Want of Indian statesmen—Lord Ellenborough—Government patronage—Suggestions for distribution of patronage.

It is all very well for our enlightened representatives now, at the eleventh hour, to exclaim indignantly against the anomaly and absurdity of the double government; but what will strike you and me, and the gentle public generally as strange, is, that knowing it to be so rotten, they have permitted it to remain in existence so long. Whenever the subject has been discussed, ministers have told us the double system of government was the only one for India, and that any interference with the rights of the Company would lose us the country at once; and whenever they have said so, the Houses of Parliament have endorsed their opinions. Now, all of a sudden, they turn round and tell us the Company must go; and that so hastily, that anything like a fair, deliberate discussion of the question appears impossible. I believe this excessive energy on a matter they have hitherto been utterly indifferent to, is most dangerous. We all know that the cow that has been long

tied up, gallops about twice as much as the one that has been always at liberty; and if the House of Commons, who have for years been deprived of all liberty on Indian matters, take it into their heads to run riot on the subject, there is indeed great danger of losing India.

The habits, customs, creed and prejudices of the natives of India have existed through all time, and are as firmly established in that country as Christianity is in ours; these are not subjects which five hundred men, who know little or nothing about them, can handle and dispose of off-hand.

There are several reasons for the apathy hitherto displayed by the House of Commons on Indian matters.

The Great Duke was once reported to have said, "that, if the Houses of Parliament ever began to interfere with the government of India, we should lose the country." These words have never been forgotten; and for thirty years have given a standing excuse to each succeeding minister to check the public discussion of Indian affairs. Parliament always followed the advice of its wise men; and the consequence has been, the continuance of extraordinary ignorance, in Parliament and out of it, on the subject of India—the blind have led the blind, and now we are all in the ditch together. India has never possessed any family or personal claim on the

House of Commons. The classes who send members to Parliament, and those who recruit the Indian services, are perfectly distinct: the sons of the clergy, of half-pay and Company's officers, of merchants, barristers, and small country squires, have not much in common with the more wealthy and aristocratic class who supply us with representatives. All the interest that Parliament has hitherto taken in India has been the result of necessity rather than inclination.

The fact that no very great interest could ever be excited on Indian questions was a sufficient reason for all the orators of the House avoiding the subject. The best speakers of this generation have always failed in bringing down the House on an Indian question: all—the brilliant and the dull, the prosy and the curt—are equally considered "bores" when India is their theme. "The crow doth sing as sweetly as the lark when neither is attended;" and it was scarcely to be expected that men who could excite any amount of enthusiasm on any other subject but India, should select that particular one for their efforts. In the days of Warren Hastings, personal animosity barbed the eloquence of some of the greatest orators the country has ever produced; and the halls of St. Stephen's rang again with a florid eloquence that is perhaps wanting to our more matter-of-fact debates. In those days the general

public knew nothing whatever of India—all was new, golden, and amazing; now much of the illusion has been stripped from the subject: the pagoda trees have died out; priceless gems are rare, and great fortunes the exception; whilst large livers and broken family ties are still the indissoluble accompaniments of Indian expatriation. Another great reason why India has always been an unpopular subject with the House of Commons is, the great difficulty in getting at the real truth of anything concerning the country; for not only had the honest inquirers to contend with the wilful misrepresentations of the several official authorities, but with the far more puzzling and contradictory accounts brought home by those who had served in the country, and possessed considerable knowledge on the subject. Whilst one authority would tell them that the whole system of Indian empire was rotten, another would indulge in the wasteful and ridiculous excess of gilding refined gold, painting the lily, and declare it to be the most magnificent and stable empire the world had ever seen. It is always most agreeable to believe what we wish; and we can hardly wonder that the congratulatory statements of the latter were credited, and the warnings of the former treated as the discontented croakings of ill-omened birds.

Whatever may be the result of the attention that our representatives now intend to bestow on Indian

affairs, there is no doubt that with them lies the chief blame of all the mismanagement that has brought on the present crisis. Their indifference laid the foundation of the utter ignorance that now pervades all ranks on Indian matters. The Houses of Parliament professed to exercise a supervision over the Government patronage of India, and have not done so. Year after year they entrusted that magnificent empire to hands that were incompetent; they knew full well the abuse of Government patronage in India had more than once imperilled the empire; they suffered costly wars and mighty armies to be placed under the control of men who had no recommendation but interest: year after year they saw all this and made no sign; what right have they now to turn round and find fault with any one but themselves, if India slips from their grasp?

In the thirteenth century, Mussaaood, Sultan of Hindostan, was warned by a letter from Khorassan, that "his enemies, who were once like ants, were become little snakes; and, if not soon destroyed, might soon grow into serpents." How often have the Houses of Parliament received the same warnings concerning the dangers and evils our misgovernment was fostering! How often have the words of Sir Charles Napier, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Melville, Lord Gough, and half the Company's officers of note who had been to this country, warned them that all

was not so fair and peaceful as they imagined; that there were ants, and even little snakes, which, if not scotched, would soon threaten our rule. But they scorned anything like warning; they treated the whole subject of India with contempt and indifference, and now they have their reward; their utter indifference has sown the storm, and now the country must reap the whirlwind.

Now that the House of Commons has taken India in hand, and is going to legislate on the subject at once, we naturally look round with anxiety for those who are to guide and instruct our members on a subject of which they do not care to disguise their ignorance. At this present moment, the House of Commons is singularly devoid of men of Indian experience; and—with the exception of a few East India Directors, who will be rather on their trial than unprejudiced advisers—I know of no man who dare lead the House over the hitherto untrodden ground of Indian politics. There are lots of men who can speak for the hour on Indian affairs, and fill whole volumes with platitudes on Indian habits and history; but we don't want speakers just now: we want statesmen; we want strong reasoning intellects—men who, without prejudice or leaning to one side or another, can throw aside all clap-trap and party spirit, and look the subject of Indian legislation boldly in the face; who can see and explain clearly and dis-

tinctly what our position is in regard to that country; what has been our past and what should be our future policy. Would that we could see such men in the House of Commons! The greatest of our present race of statesmen have always avoided the subject of India, and how are we to expect much wisdom from them now?

In the House of Lords they are better off; in that august assembly there is one statesman who has spent a long life in the study of Indian history, politics and character; who has himself exercised supreme rule in the country, and who, with rare eloquence, *can* guide their deliberations, and instruct their ignorance; but so great is the jealousy displayed towards Lord Ellenborough by the organs of Government, that there is great danger that in the hour of our need we shall be deprived of the full advantage of the counsels of the one great and profound mind that has mastered Indian politics.

I never read an Indian debate in the Upper House, and see the ignorant impertinence with which the almost prophetic warnings and suggestions of that great statesman are ignored and ridiculed, by men who are as ignorant of India as he is profoundly acquainted with it, but I am reminded of the surprise expressed by Anacharsis, that "in the assemblies at Athens wise men should propound business, and fools determine it."

You remember how the Athenians determined who they should honour as the best general at the battle of Salamis. When each general was asked who had done most to secure the victory, he answered himself; but when asked who did most after him, they one and all answered Themistocles. No doubt each of our Ministers, if asked who knows most about India, would answer himself; but ask him who knows most after him, and he will say Lord Ellenborough. Lord Ellenborough is accused of being proud, arrogant, and self-willed, by men who are as proud and self-willed as himself; with this remarkable difference, that whereas he is proud in his knowledge, and self-willed in what he knows is sound policy, they are inflated with ignorance, and obstinate only in refusing all suggestions that might dispel it. There is a scene in Troilus and Cressida that a few noble lords who find fault with Lord Ellenborough because he is proud would do well to study.

The part of Ajax by Lord —— or Lord ——.

"*Ajax.*—I do hate a proud man as I do the engendering of toads.
Nestor.—And yet he loves himself! is it not strange? (*Aside.*)
Ulysses.—The raven chides blackness. (*Aside.*)"

How the devil must grin at the twofold humility of these noble lords, who, beginning by acknowledging they know little of the subject, end by contradicting the one who knows most. Lord Melbourne used to say, that "Lord Ellenborough was always so

damned cock sure he was right;" and whoever will read the Indian debates of the last year will see he *was* right from beginning to end. Nobody, I suppose, doubts that it is better to be cock sure when you are right, than when you are wrong!

Let us hope, for the sake of our country and for the permanence of the British empire, that when the great subject of Indian legislation is debated in a committee of both Houses, no party feeling will be suffered to interfere with a question that regards the general prosperity of the nation, and has nothing whatever to do with any individual faction or party in the State.

We have now seen that the responsibility of Indian government lies between the Queen's Government, acting through the Board of Control, the Imperial Parliament, and the Court of Directors. The influence of the first, as we shall see when we come to consider the army, has been eminently vicious; that of the second has been dormant; and that of the third almost impotent for good. Of the three, the influence of the Home Government has been by far the most fatal to all the true interests of India; and if the Court of Directors are driven into a corner, they may very fairly turn and lay upon it the burden of their own shortcomings. The hereditary policy of the Company, not to extend their dominions, has been systematically ignored by the Home Govern-

ment; and the ruinous wars and wasteful expenditure incurred in the extension of empire is the great reason why taxation has during the last fifty years been kept at its maximum, and all the means of increasing the revenue by means of public works been rendered impossible.

I suppose there is little doubt that the days of the Court of Directors are numbered: the Company's Raj has completed its hundred years, and will soon be mentioned as one of the past institutions of the country. Great changes will doubtless be effected; but will they be beneficial ones? The violent transfer of a gigantic empire, like that of India, with all its patronage, establishments, and debt, from one party in the State to another, cannot be accomplished without a severe wrench to the constitution. And although Government will profess to be animated solely by patriotic motives, the country will naturally remember the flesh-pots of Indian patronage, and how the Horse Guards and the Queen's Ministers have lusted after them, and helped themselves even when the contents belonged to the Directors, and will not be too willing to abandon them now entirely and without question to the tender mercies of the Ministers of the Crown. The Government will try to secure as much of the patronage as they possibly can; and, of course, all sensible men will try to restrict them to the smallest possible

quantity. It would be most dangerous to this country to entrust the enormous patronage of the East India Company to any ministry that ever was formed; the spirit of jobbing is as rife now as in the worst days of Sir Robert Walpole. There are just as many ready to buy and sell as there were then; it is only the medium that has altered; it is no longer money—that is gone out of fashion—but place and patronage, that rewards or attracts. As a general rule, the system of securing offices and appointments by interest is more fatal to the true interests of the country than any amount of actual buying and selling.

At present a man gets an appointment by family interest; and though he is the most incompetent man that ever stepped, the interest that procures him the appointment will be sufficient to retain him in it, in defiance of any amount of injury to the public service. When places were openly bought and sold, it was not so; it was not then the interest of the minister who sold to retain the purchaser if incompetent; he was no child of his; and he had no objection to getting rid of him, and selling again. It may appear strange, but so it is, that it is always a good thing for the public service when those appointed by any particular interest are placed under the supervision of others independent of the same influence; the interest that appointed them can then do nothing more

for them; and if incompetent, they have "to travel."

For any new plan of government for India three things should be considered indispensable:—

1st. That Government should in no way increase their patronage.

2ndly. That the Indian services should be recruited from exactly the same ranks of the community as heretofore.

3rdly. That Parliament should be induced, by some means or another, to take a direct interest in the country.

There appears to me to be one plan that would combine these three desiderata: We cannot entrust the Indian patronage to any minister, lest he should buy our representation;—why not give it directly to our representatives themselves? we may be quite sure they will not want to buy a minister!—by that I mean to distribute the patronage now held by the Company amongst the several members of the House of Commons. To each constituency in the country should be attached a nomination to Addiscombe or Haileybury, in the gift of the member for the time being. About three hundred cadets and civilians go to India every year; and, therefore, twice in each session, or once in every two years, every member of Parliament would have the nomination of a candidate for the Indian services. The nomination only gives

the right to compete at public examinations; and as great numbers necessarily fail, the nominations would come round more frequently.

The greater proportion of nominations would probably be given to the nephews and relatives of the existing members, or to the sons of their influential supporters. A few might, perhaps, be allotted to those youths amongst the constituency who showed remarkable promise of talent or energy. The patronage would thus be still confined to the upper middling classes; and I cannot imagine any more likely to supply us with future Clives, Hastings's, and Lawrences.

This distribution could not be open to abuse; for the partition of two gratuities in the shape of nominations for the Indian services during four years, could but slightly affect the prospects of a candidate amongst any constituency, however small.

The result of this arrangement would effect what I before stated as indispensable to any new plan of Indian government. It would keep the patronage out of the hands of the Queen's ministers; it would still recruit the Indian services from the upper middling classes of the country; it would give to each individual member of Parliament a direct interest in India; and it would, moreover, disseminate through every class in this country an interest and knowledge of India that at present does not exist.

Some plan of this kind, or throwing both services entirely open to public competition, appears to me the only plan of getting over the difficulty of the distribution of patronage.

CHAPTER IX.

British and native territory—Extent of British India—Its divisions and comparative importance—Its population—Different social condition of England and India—Revenue—Native powers.

HAVING thus comfortably disposed of the Home Government, let us take a view of India itself. The size of the country, and its millions, and its creeds, castes, rivers and mountains, are all written in unnumbered works; and the less said about them the better. The two former are on such a grand scale that they always remind me of the distances of the heavenly bodies—true, no doubt, and wonderful, but neither interesting nor practical: but as wise-heads tell us that our destiny now compels us to occupy the whole country, right and left, it is as well, perhaps, to ascertain as near as possible the amount of the work before us.

The extent of country directly under British rule is somewhat over 830,000 square miles, and contain a mixed population of every nation, kindred, language, and religion of upwards of 130,000,000.

The native states include about 627,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 50,000,000; thus

our portion of India exceeds that held by the former proprietors of the soil by one-third, whilst the number of our subjects is more than double.

This advantage in the matter of population is not owing to the superior excellence of our rule, but to the sagacity of our ancestors, who, when making up their minds to occupy the country, seized the fattest portions first.

As I said before, the enormous figures and statistics connected with any description of India, always remind me of the astounding calculations of the solar system. When I read of hundreds of thousands of square miles, and hundreds of millions of men, I have about as clear a conception of actual space or numbers, as when I am told the area of the sun's spots, or the length of a comet's tail. The statement that the distance of the sun from the earth is 95,000,000 of miles, and that the comet of 1811 was 123,000,000 of miles long and 15,000,000 of miles broad, conveys no distinct notion whatever to my mind; but when it is explained to me that the former figures represent a distance that a Great Western express travelling night and day could only traverse in 250 years, or the Leviathan at full steam in 750, I can occasionally, after going to sleep half a dozen times, and getting a very bad headache, kindle in my imagination some faint spark of intelligence regarding the immensity of space; but even this laborious result is instantaneously snuffed out when

I find that this same comet with 123,000,000 of miles of tail will not appear again till the 60th century, during the whole of which period he will be describing an elliptical course, far, far away, beyond the regions of thought, at the rate of 800,000 miles an hour!

If, in our consideration of the immense extent and the millions of inhabitants of British India, we carry with us a standard of acreage and number more familiar to us, I think, perhaps, the whole country may become a more intelligible quantity.

To begin our lesson, therefore: British India represents sixteen kingdoms of the size of England alone, and contains eight times her population—that is to say, British India is sixteen times as large as England, but only eight times as populous; thus British India is only half as thickly inhabited per square mile as England.

British India is divided into 108 districts, averaging throughout 8,130 square miles in extent, with a population of 1,281,000, or reduced to English dimensions, it represents 103 large counties of an average size, of Wales and Surrey taken together, with a population rather less than that of Yorkshire.* I do

	Square miles.	Population.
England	50,287	16,000,000
Ireland	30,320	8,000,000
Wales	7,425	916,000
Scotland	29,000	2,620,000
Yorkshire	5,724	1,591,480
Surrey	756	582,678

not mean by this that the 103 districts of British India are all thus equally divided; on the contrary, they are of all sorts, shapes, sizes, and populations, from territories that are twice the size of Ireland, with a population equal to those of Scotland and Ireland together, to districts which are scarcely a third the size of Surrey, with one-fifth of its population; but I mean that this would be their average size and population if so divided, and I think the comparison may assist the general consideration of the empire. Our territory is now divided into five large presidencies or provinces—those of Madras and Bombay, those under the governor-general in person, those under the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and those comprised in the term, North West Provinces.

The following sketch after the admired style of school geography, will give an idea of the respective size and importance of these five kingdoms. Madras contains 132,000 square miles, with a population of rather more than 22,000,000; it is divided into twenty-two districts, varying in size and population from Madura, which is about half the size of Scotland and a third less populous, to Coorg, which is about three times the size of Surrey, and contains about a third of its population. If equally divided, it would represent twenty-two counties of the size of Yorkshire, with an average population of one million. Bombay contains seventeen districts, varying in size and population, from

Hyderabad, which is rather less than Scotland, with three-fourths of its population, to Broach, which is scarcely twice the dimensions of Surrey, with half its number of inhabitants. If equally divided, it would represent seventeen districts, the exact size of Wales, with a population under 700,000.

The provinces under the governor-general in person, include twenty states of all sizes, from Nagpore or Berar, which comprises a territory equal to England and Scotland put together, to Kohat, which is half the size of Yorkshire, and with a population that, numbering 10,000,000 in the Punjaub, is scarcely 100,000 in the afore-mentioned Kohat.

If its twenty districts were equally divided, they would each represent a county twice the size of Yorkshire, with a population rather exceeding 1,000,000.

The provinces under the lieutenant-governor of Bengal embrace twenty-three districts, from Arracan, which is somewhat larger than Ireland, to Joundhpore, which is twice the extent of Surrey, and with a population that, amounting to upwards of 8,000,000 in Bhaugulpore, scarcely numbers 60,000 in Cachar. If equally divided, it would represent twenty-three districts larger than Wales and Surrey combined, with a third more population than the two together.

In the north west we have twenty-one provinces, varying in dimensions from Benares, which contains 20,000 square miles to Mhain, which is only 282, and

with a population that, numbering 9,000,000 in Benares, is only 220,000 in Ajmere. It might be divided into twenty-one counties rather smaller than Yorkshire, with about a corresponding population.

We have not time to enter minutely into the statistics of Indian population, neither would it perhaps interest us much to do so; but still many useful conclusions might be drawn from a comparison of European or English population with that of India. Some of the facts are striking: the district of Coorg, for instance, that we have just mentioned, is about three times the size of the county of Surrey, whilst its population is only one-third, that is to say, Surrey is comparatively nine times more populous than Coorg, whilst Tanjore, which is half the size of Wales, contains very nearly double its number of inhabitants; or, in other words, is four times as populous. Both Wales and Coorg are mountainous districts, whilst Surrey, famous for its elms, and Tanjore, with the finest water privileges of any district of India, are two very fertile specimens of their respective countries and therefore the comparison affords no practical commentary on the actual condition of the two countries; but it teaches us, that in talking of India in general terms, without a distinct reference to particular districts, we may often commit most grievous errors.

Our deductions from these comparisons may lead us into a train of thought that may gradually suggest more practical conceptions with regard to British

India than at present exists. They should dispel forever the immemorial tradition concerning the unlimited productions and teeming population of India. They prove to us that India is comparativaly only half as populous as England, and that in order to attain a proportionate state of prosperity, she would require a population of 260,000,000 instead of 130,000,000; and when we remember, in addition, that England is working full time and high pressure; that every individual of the English community is straining hand and heart in the feverish race of progress, whilst India is still morally and physically dragging along at the snail's pace of two thousand years ago; we see at once what a vast social gulf is fixed between the two nations, and how uncongenial the ideas and practices of the one country must necessarily appear to the other.

There is, indeed, an utter antagonism in every possible condition of life between the Englishman and the native of India. This cannot be too strongly insisted upon, for only by its full recognition and observance can we hope permanently to overcome the native prejudices against our customs and ourselves. This antagonism of thoughts, acts, inclinations, and morality, commences with the child, and ends only with life. As the one child learns to write from right to left, and the other from left to right, so do they learn to think and act; and thus do they continue to think

and act through life, as completely opposed in every possible respect in the evening of their lives as in the morning of their existence. Their utter dissimilarity of custom cannot be more completely exemplified than by the opposite manner in which the two people clothe those important members, the head and feet. The native of India wraps his head in fifty or sixty yards of cotton, which it is a disgrace to remove in public; but he wears no stockings, and kicks off his shoes whenever he wants to show respect. The Englishman, on the contrary, fixes his feet in the most uncomfortable of boots, which he removes with difficulty, whilst his head is uncovered to salute his friends.

But this comparison of the two countries also proves to us, that the miseries of a redundant population, or of that condition of the human race, in which the consumers of food are too numerous for the quantity produced, such as is seen amongst the crowded communities of Europe, should have no existence in India. There they have the land, and if they have not a superabundance of the necessaries of life, it is because they want sufficient energy, or inducements, to cultivate it. As regards the important matter of revenue, we have a yet greater advantage over the native princes than in the superior extent and population of our provinces; whilst their revenue scarcely amounts to 13,000,000, ours, during the last ten years has never been under 26,000,000, and for the last seven years

has considerably exceeded 27,000,000. But then we must remember we possess sources of revenue that the native princes do not; with them the land-tax is the only revenue, whilst in our salt, and opium, and customs, we possess additional sources of income, that together amount to nearly 12,000,000.

The native powers may be thus roughly enumerated: The Mussulman kingdom of Oude, with 25,000 square miles, and 5,000,000 of warlike inhabitants; the Mussulman dynasty of the Nizam of the Deccan, with a country of 96,000 square miles, and a population of 11,000,000; the territory of Nagpore, lately annexed, with 76,000 square miles, and 5,000,000 of inhabitants; Scindiah, the representative of the power of Sivaji, with 25,000 square miles and 3,000,000 of Mahratta subjects; and nearly 200 princes and rajahs, with revenues ranging between £30,000 and £300,000 a year. The present mutiny has shown us, that, so long as we leave the native princes in peace, they will assist us, or at least remain neutral during any difficulty that may threaten our power; but we have only to look at Oude and the fierce opposition it has shown to annexation, to judge of what a nest of hornets we should have had about us, had a like spirit of annexation alienated the possessions of the whole community of native princes.

That Government must be very strong, both in European troops and in the affection of the natives, that can with safety dare the enmity of the Nizam of the Deccan, Scindiah, and the other 200 native princes of the country.

The natives of India maintain, as a great rule of political jurisprudence, that, when one nation commences hostilities against another, it risks its liberty against that of its opponent; they consider that the country that begins a war has no right to complain if, in case of defeat, it is entirely subdued and annexed; but they assert that, so long as a power respects its neighbour's land-mark, and in no way plots against its Government, it is the height of injustice for the stronger forcibly to seize and occupy the kingdom of the weaker. That is the conduct we are accused, by the natives of India, of pursuing with regard to Oude: they find no fault with us for annexing the Punjaub, or even Scinde, because in both cases they were the attacking party; but in Oude that was not the case—the Mussulman sovereigns carefully abstained from any acts of aggression against English power; and our occupation of that country has been viewed, from one end of India to another, as a breach of faith and an act of tyranny that nothing could palliate. It is not too much to say that the annexation of Oude has done more to lower the British character for justice and integrity,

and to raise against us the animosity of the native population, than any act of ours since we first set foot in the country. We had no more right to annex Oude than the Sardinians have to annex Tuscany and the Papal States.

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CHAPTER X.

Government of India—Governor-General—Supreme Council—English Law—Insufficient number of civilians—Impossibility of performing their appointed work—Mofussil Courts—General venality of officials—Self-convictions.

To maintain our rule over 830,000 square miles, and 130,000,000 of subjects, we have a governor-general, two governors of presidencies, two lieutenant-governors, several Horse Guards generals, three chief justices, numerous judges, 900 civil officers, an army of 40,000 Europeans and 250,000 natives with their officers, a Bombay marine, and an ecclesiastical establishment.

To begin with the governor-general:—We have seen that, in the greater number of instances, the appointment of President of the Board of Control is the reward of comparative inefficiency. The appointment of governor-general is not directed by such simple rules: it requires a combination of qualities that, although existing separately in a considerable number, are not always to be found combined in one individual. In the first place, a governor-general must be a peer, or possess the highest aristocratical or political claims.

In the second, he must be in needy circumstances.

And in the third, he must possess moderate abilities.

When these three qualifications are combined in

one individual, he possesses an undeniable claim to the government of India; and if passed over, is an injured man for life.

Why poor peers should *always* be selected for the post of governor-general, it is hard to say. We can only say with Polonius, "'Tis true, 'tis pity; and pity 'tis 'tis true."

It is the desire of the Court of Directors, and of the Government, that the governor-general should arrive in India a blank sheet of paper, ready to receive the impression of his future policy from the council he finds at Calcutta on his arrival. It is quite an exceptional case when a govenor-general knows anything whatever about India till he arrives in the country. Such being the case, it should be the first endeavours of those who appoint him, to supply him with the very best council the country affords. But unfortunately that is not the practice; not only does the supreme council *not* include the best men in India, but it does not even comprise the best talent of the Bengal services. It consists of two or three old Bengal civilians, selected chiefly by seniority; a commander-in-chief—too often a civilian also in habits and ideas—and the governor-general in person; and these with the addition of a civilian from each of the other Presidencies, constitute the Legislative Council of India. A blank sheet of paper placed in such hands cannot be expected to present any very brilliant results. The Supreme Council

at Calcutta has been a continual drag on the progress of India; and just now, its tardiness and obstinacy have been attended with most fatal results.

Occasionally, to be sure, governors-general do go out who do not present the desired blank; who have a policy and judgment of their own, and who pay no regard whatever to the matronly recommendations of their council. Both Lord Ellenborough and Lord Dalhousie were such men; governors-general *in* council in the fullest sense, who dictated their policy with a supreme contempt for the opinion of the

> "Men in whom no mortal power was found;
> Fat souls, and ever grovelling on the ground,"

they found in office.

Lord Ellenborough's contempt was so open and marked, that all the old civilians in the country, who hoped in time to get these snug berths in the Supreme Council, took fright, and, by united interest with the directors, effected his recall. Lord Dalhousie, the more "cannie chield," with equal contempt for them, played his cards better; and, by wheedling and overawing by turns, insured their abject co-operation in all his plans. He was a man of strong will, and disposed of all advice—and much more valuable advice, unfortunately, than that of his council only—with the conclusive argument of the immortal squire: "I am of the family of the Panzas, who are all headstrong; and if they once say odd is odd, it must be

so, though in fact it was even." But the independence of a governor-general is no excuse for the servility of his council; and although India *is* an eastern empire, we do not therefore tolerate amongst our countrymen employed there the suppleness of the East. We do not want a mealy-mouthed council, who see the moon and stars at mid-day, merely because the governor-general chooses to say it is night; we want men able to look with their own eyes, and honest enough to say what they do see. Much misunderstanding exists in this country regarding the stamp of character we require in our proconsuls in the East. It is not the diplomatic mind that splits hairs of policy, and interprets treaties by words instead of spirit, neither is it the philanthropical mind that wishes to benefit all creeds and races in the same manner, that gains the respect of the natives of India. A crusade against polygamy, or the enforced celibacy of widows, or the native law of adoption, does not enlist their sympathy or admiration: they see nothing but insult in the inducements offered to their women to break the laws of caste that separate them from the pariah; and when they find that what has been the property of their family for a thousand of years is taken from them by some quibble of words which they cannot understand, they naturally view it as an act of gross cruelty and injustice.

The natives of India honour the man who is the reverse of themselves in every respect; whose ways are not their ways, whose paths of right and justice are broad and well defined, and whose foot is strong to tread them.

What we especially want in our proconsuls, is the *ars imperatoria*, the force of will to overawe and control the natives; one who possesses the iron hand that keeps down native despotism and rebellion, and the velvet glove that does so without wounding the native prejudices. Such a man was Warren Hastings. Do we suppose that he who hung Nuncomar, a Brahmin of the highest caste, in the face of multitudes, would have shown any indecision or timidity in dealing with the present mutiny? But then, Warren Hastings had lived in India and knew the natives: he was not sent out fresh from England solely because he happened to have great interest, and no funds.

"India," says Lord Wellesley, "should be governed from a palace by the sceptre of a statesman, and not from a counter by the yard measure of a merchant." He was right; the responsibilities of even a Cabinet appointment do not of necessity fit a man to control successfully the convulsions of an empire like India. There is no reputation that carries with it such weight amongst the race of sepoys as that of Lord Gough—a man unmarked by

any particular genius, but gifted to the utmost with the pluck, energy, and enduring courage of the British race; and long after the names of Hardinge, and Dalhousie, and a score of others have passed from the native mind, that of the dauntless old soldier who, in the midst of timid councils, and with an empire tottering to its very base, displayed to perfection the rare determination and unflinching courage of the Anglo-Saxon race, will be handed down to future generations of sepoys as a type of that race who, for a hundred years, reigned supreme from Cape Comorin to Caubul.

We Britons are very proud of our laws, and fond of administering them to all who come under our sway. Our criminal code is, without doubt, the most merciful in the world; and we may recommend it to every nation and people with as much certainty of benefit as we would quinine for a fever or amputation for gangrene.

Our civil code, on the contrary, is not in every case fitted to ensure such unadulterated blessings to all the world; it is a fabric that has been erected with much labour and cost, and is endeared to us by the blood of some of the best and noblest of our ancestors. We know there is much about it that is bad and useless; but it supplies us, on the whole, with a very fair amount of justice; it is, moreover, our own making, and altogether we love it as a father

does his child, because it is his, or, at least, he thinks so. But it is quite easy to understand, that when applied to a people who have their own code of laws, many thousand years older, framed to suit particular habits and customs to which they are most deeply attached, our system may not appear such perfect justice. British law is entirely subversive of all the customs and traditions of the natives of India, and ignores, *ab initio*, every principle and idea they hold most sacred. Whether this is justice, I cannot say; but if not, it must be very equitable injustice, to judge by the eagerness with which natives of all ranks intrust their fortunes and persons to its decrees. A man's confidence in his kismit, or in the integrity of his judge, must be great indeed when it induces him to intrust all he possesses to the intricacies of a law of which he knows nothing.

In the supreme courts, English law is administered by English judges, with gowns and wigs, and all the majesty of Westminster Hall; and here, as far as it lies in the power of the judges, justice is supplied in its purest form. But the supreme courts can only dispose of a very small portion of the judicial business of the country; and the rest is intrusted to native courts, presided over by civil officers of the Company, and occasionally by native judges. The European judges are, of course, honest enough; but the native lawyers and clerks attached to the courts

often render their best efforts useless. Many a poor native, who has nominally gained his cause, finds that he has only got the shadow, whilst the venality of the native officers still secures the substance to his opponent: "Je ne me plains pas de la justice," said a Frenchman, who in like manner having obtained a verdict, found himself a ruined man; "elle est très equitable: je voudrais seulement que tous les officiers fussent d'honnêtes gens."

In the courts presided over by native judges, the case is different; there the reasoning of rupees never fails. Everybody, from the judge to the door-keeper, openly has his price; and the highest bidder is always certain of success. In the East generally, bribery and corruption are recognised as the necessary concomitants of law; and the old saying, "Omnia venalia Romæ," may be applied to every native court of justice in India.

When the emperor Tchang-hi was petitioned by his subjects against the venality of the law courts, he answered, that, considering the immense population of the empire, the great division of territory and property, and the notorious law-loving character of the Chinese, he was of opinion that law-suits would increase to a wonderful extent if people were not afraid of the tribunals, and if they felt confident of always finding in them ready and apt justice; he desired therefore that all who had recourse to the

tribunals might be treated without any pity, in such a manner that they should be disgusted with law, and tremble to appear before a magistrate. The river of native law is just as impure in India as ever it was in China; but still the people will drink freely; and one of our first duties is to try and render it more wholesome. In the Mofussil or interior of the country, law and justice are administered by the Company's civil servants; and, whatever may be the nature of the law they dispense, the amount of justice is certainly often very small—not from the wish to be unjust, but from the inability to be just. When we remember the nature of the evidence inseparable from native witnesses, amongst whom lying is second nature, and perjury a marketable article, at the price of a penny halfpenny a day, we cannot be surprised at the impossibility of magistrates sometimes getting at the truth. The fact is, the English magistrate in India is expected to work impossibilities. One, or at the most two Europeans, of no particular legal acquirements, are sent to a district of from 3,000 to 13,000 square miles, to administer law and justice to nearly a million of people prone to vice, given to criminal indulgences unknown in his own country, and gifted with a power of lying and deceit far exceeding anything of the kind known amongst Europeans—and all this in a foreign language, and according to codes the most

various and contradictory. What justice can be expected from a man, however gifted, who at one sitting has to administer the code of Menu to the Hindoo, that of the Koran to the Mussulman, British law to all who prefer it, and heaven knows what other law to the Persians, Parsis, Affghans, Armenians, Jews, infidels, and heretics, who compose the litigious millions of the peninsula? Who has to adjust the quarrels of a Mussulman, whose law ignores all murder committed with a weapon of destruction below the standard weight for murderous weapons proscribed by the Koran! a Hindoo, whose code enjoins identically the same penance for killing a dog, a cat, frog, lizard, or other despised animal, as for taking the life of a Pariah! a Parsi, who considers it a greater crime to blow out his candle than to kill a Mussulman, and a European, who regards the whole native population with supreme contempt, and scouts the idea of the same justice being meted out to the white man and the nigger? Fifty magistrates, instead of two, would be incapable of administering even the shadow of justice, according to five or six different codes, to a million of people.

It is utterly impossible to exaggerate the venality and rascality of the native officials attached to the Magistrates' Courts in the interior. The various reports of the Superintendents of Police, the Minutes of Mr. Halliday, and the Revelations of Paunch Kouri

Khan* may startle and appear incredible to us living on the banks of a pure stream of justice; but to those acquainted with the pestilential atmosphere of a Mofussil Court, there is not a statement that will appear highly coloured.

It is a notorious fact, that every native attached to a court of justice, from the door-keeper who extorts bribes to admit a petitioner, or exclude a witness, to the magistrate's clerk, who takes down the deposition of the witnesses, has his price. It has been calculated that, in eight cases out of ten, decided in every magistrate's court throughout the country, a douceur is paid to the clerk who takes down the depositions; everybody bribes; the culprit who is in the wrong in hopes he may be made to appear in the right, and he that is in the right, from the undoubted conviction that if he omits this form he will most certainly appear in the wrong on the day of trial. The magistrate is perfectly aware of this established custom amongst his subordinates; but what can he do? Supposing he has energy and accurate knowledge of the native character sufficient to enable him to interfere with any chance of success, he has no time; with work far beyond the power of any dozen men, he must have native assistance, or he will never get through it at all; he knows all his men receive bribes, but he knows also it is a universal custom all

* See Appendix.

over the country, and that if he clears out all the present offenders, their successors will be just as bad. He knows perfectly well, that even if he accuse, he will never convict them. In native bribery, the greatest secrecy is preserved, and both giver and receiver would perjure themselves with their last breath, sooner than admit the fact. Overwhelmed with labour, enervated perhaps from climate, irritated with the rascality and unfathomable deceit of those over whom he is expected to adjudicate, the magistrate is obliged to leave much to his clerks; his necessity is their opportunity, and trust them for making the most of it. Whilst he is engaged in listening to one suit, the mohurrim or clerk is taking down the depositions of another case, to await his leisure; making his bargain either with the accuser or defendant; writing whatever answers are best suited to his purpose, without any regard to the actual evidence of the witnesses; sometimes actually leaving his desk to make some new bargains with one of the parties of the suit, and not unfrequently changing sides at the very last moment, and re-dictating evidence already falsified, to suit the views of the party who has at the eleventh hour increased his bid. Under the hands of these accomplished rogues, the depositions assume the form of special pleadings in favour of the person, whether culprit or prosecutor, or whose side they may be retained.

In the Mofussil courts, or those held by magistrates in the interior of the country, there is no public prosecutor; the labour and expense falls on the injured individual; and no complication of outrage or persecution will ever induce those who have once been fleeced by the officials, who surround the magistrate's court, voluntarily to undertake the duty again.

In many cases, the plaintiff or witness suffers far more than the criminal against whom the offence is established. On the most trivial cases, the witness is ordered to attend the magistrate's court, sometimes a distance of fifty, sixty, or even one hundred miles; here he is exposed to the ill treatment and extortion of the native officials; debarred from his usual means of livelihood; and harassed with the distressing conviction that his wife and family are unprotected and in want. So severely are these hardships felt, that no person will voluntarily submit to them. It too often happens, that in order to procure a conviction, it is necessary to seize and send both prosecutor and witness to the magistrate, where they are kept in restraint, often in prison, till they bribe the native officials, and pay a sufficient sum to induce them to hurry on the trial, or to quash it altogether.

In some districts, owing to the paucity of officers, the judicial and ministerial functions are still combined. A judge has to catch a thief in the morning, and try and convict him after tiffin; or he has to

leave his court with all the attendant prisoners, witnesses, and prosecutors, to the tender mercies of his officers, whilst he goes rogue-hunting at the other extremity of his district.

There is no fact connected with the internal economy of British India, not even the practice of torture itself, that carries with it such a painful train of ideas, as the number of self-convicted prisoners. In England and France scarcely four per cent. are convicted on their own evidence, whilst in India, the proportion of those who plead guilty, and are convicted on their own pleading, amounts to seventy in every hundred!

This extraordinary proportion is not the result of working on the good principles of a man's character, but of promises of forgiveness, or threats of punishment, of tempting promises of present pardon and future reward, or of fearful threats of corporal punishment, and of insult and destitution heaped on his wife and children.

The same grievous want of Europeans that causes the administration of justice in the Mofussil to be so imperfect, also stagnates the whole civil administration of the country. British India is divided into districts, of every imaginable shape and population, with an average population of between 800,000 and 1,000,000. To direct, control, and report on the whole civil polity and domestic economy of these

principalities; to administer justice, to collect revenue and adjust taxation; to see to the proper appropriations of all the sums for roads, schools, tanks, wells, surveys, charities, &c., there are never more than six, and generally either three or four civil officers of the Company. We see at once the impossibility of these men, however laborious and energetic, completing individually a hundredth part of this Herculean labour. They must depend almost entirely upon their native clerks and assistants for information, and for the execution of their orders; every information that reaches the ears of the collector must come through the native officials; and in a country where, as I said before, venality is no crime, and any number of men can be procured to swear black is white for one anna a day, it is easy to perceive how difficult it must be to arrive at the truth of anything in India, and how impossible to remedy it when discovered. Say what we will, it *is* a farce to suppose that four or five men are sufficient to govern with justice and advantage nearly a million of men differing from them in every possible respect of thoughts and habits, spread over a country somewhat more extensive than Yorkshire; and we can understand that, under the circumstances, what the natives see of English rule is not always the fertilizing and health-bearing stream we love to paint to ourselves in this country.

CHAPTER XI.

Native Army—Causes of the Mutiny—High-caste sepoys—Devotion to their caste—Impossibility of exterminating sepoys—Real cause of the Mutiny—Cruel betrayal of Horse Guards patronage—Want of justice to Indian officers.

At this moment, when the sepoy, "like a horse full of high feeding, madly has broke loose, and bears down all before him," the condition of the Anglo-Indian army naturally occupies the greater part of public attention. Much does it need inquiry, and well will it repay it.

Just now the sound of the drum and tongue of war are the only arguments with which to plead our interest with the maddened sepoy of Bengal; but the storm cannot last; and if we wish to keep India, we must study well the constitution of the legions that threaten our supremacy in the East.

All the world knew that India was a conquered country, only to be held by the sword; but the world was scarcely prepared to find that we had blindly allowed our sword to rust, till it broke in our grasp, and was useless but against ourselves.

For years the native army has been rotten to the

bone; and the only marvel is, not that the mutiny has now broken out, but that it did not do so years ago. Many reasons have been given for the present revolt: with one, the want of European officers, is considered a sufficient cause; with another, the preference shown to men of high caste; whilst a third attributes much harm to our wanton disregard of caste. The invariable superiority of the irregular cavalry regiments, with three or four European officers only, is a sufficient answer to the first supposition, and proves that it is not so much the quantity as the quality of the officers employed that must be relied on to maintain the efficiency of the native troops.

The second supposition is not so easily disposed of: there is no doubt whatever that the present revolution, for the purpose of expelling or extirpating the English, has been planned and organized by the high-caste Hindoos and Mussulmans of Hindostan; and the fact of great numbers of these high-caste men having been enlisted in our service, has given them remarkable facilities for carrying out their designs. The *rationale* of enlisting the high-caste natives was very simple, and its policy apparently reasonable enough; it was a compromise that their power on the one hand, and our weakness on the other, rendered at the time very politic. We were not strong enough to declare at once all high-caste men our enemies; and it was considered that, by

taking them into our service, we might make them our friends; and it may now be considered quite an open question, whether the rebellion would not have taken place years ago if our pay and pensions had not, for the time, attached all the most warlike races in the country to our interest.

Before the British occupation of Hindostan, the high-caste Hindoos and the high-caste Mussulmans were the lords of the soil. The great zemindars and landed proprietors of India were all of high-caste; and, of course, they were the class most affected by our occupation of territory: they consequently have been our enemies from the very first: and as their power has diminished in an inverse ratio to our progress, so has their enmity increased. Disguise their feelings as they may—and they have done so very well by taking service with us, and availing themselves of some of the means of progress and civilisation we have put within their reach—they have in reality always hated us, and been at the bottom of all the riots and mutinies that have disturbed our rule in India; they have always been the exponents and falsifiers of English ideas and policy to the multitude; and so great has been the dislike of the high castes of both creeds to English supremacy, that at any moment during the last thirty years Hindoos and Mussulmans have been ready to sink the hereditary and religious animosities of eight hundred

years, and make common cause to get rid of their powerful enemy.

The high-caste Mussulmans and Hindoos, like the descendants of the Moors of Spain, retain their legends of former wealth, and treasure up the little deeds of ancient possessions; but, unlike the present race of Moors, whose expectations of again ruling in Cordova or Seville are probably indistinct enough, they are impressed with the strongest conviction of the certainty of their speedy resumption of the wealth and importance of their forefathers. Every revolution or change would naturally enlist the sympathies of men so animated; and when the founders of the sepoy army advocated the enlistment of these high-caste malcontents, we cannot say they acted without reason. Moreover, the splendid forms and warlike natures of these high-caste races, to whom the profession of arms is as completely hereditary as ever it was amongst the Norman nobles of Europe, was always a sufficient cause for trying to secure them to our service. They must be soldiers; and if soldiers, they must fight. It was certainly better to have them with us than against us. I believe we were right to enlist high-caste men; but having done so, we should have displayed more judgment in our treatment of them. Instead of exacting from them the inflexible obedience of military discipline—instead of changing the bridle for one more powerful,

as the horses became more difficult to manage, we substituted one easier; and relaxed in their favour certain well-defined principles of discipline, without which no army can be considered healthfully organized. We either spoilt them or feared them. We gave them the inch, and little by little they got the ell. We yielded to them till they were almost exalted into the condition of the Prætorian guards of declining Rome. We stroked the tiger in order to hear him purr; and, as the Eastern proverb says, he who does so is very likely to lose a finger in the attempt. The mistake was not in enlisting the high-caste races of Hindostan, but in ignoring all established principles of discipline and obedience when they had entered our service.

We now come to the third supposed cause of the mutiny—that of trifling with the prejudices of caste we pretended to recognise and respect.

I believe there is little doubt that, whether with reason or not, the feeling has got abroad amongst the sepoys that we intend to undermine and finally abolish all the restrictions and prejudices of caste. No doubt the report had no foundation but the mischievous inventions of those who wished to rouse the sepoys against us; but the ignorance of native character that permitted such a rumour to remain uncontradicted, allowed time for the smouldering embers of suspicion to burst into the fierce flame of

conviction, and has converted into ruthless foes hundreds of thousands who were willing enough to have remained our friends.

"Light boats sail swift, though greater hulks draw deep;"

and whilst the Governor-General in council contented himself, after a fatal delay of three weeks or a month, with launching a ponderous proclamation, intended to reassure the native mind, the light boats of rumour spread swiftly and uninterruptedly through the whole of the country, confirming two hundred millions in their dread. It was most unfortunate that our blundering policy should have been permitted to create amongst the natives of India the belief that their caste was threatened; for it was a cry to which all would respond, and it has united against us high and low, and has tinged their conduct with a ruthlessness to their foes, and a devotion to their cause, that only religion could impart. Apart from the thousands of scoundrels to whom murder and rapine are at any time ample inducements for revolt, there is no doubt that many a hundred fine tall fellow, who has met his death with fanatical daring in the streets of Delhi or Lucknow, or with Stoical indifference on the parade grounds of Peshawur or Bombay, believed implicitly that he was dying a martyr to the faith and caste of his ancestors, threatened by his English rulers. And al-

though no doubt his hopes are childish, and his creed absurd, what Christian of us all dare to throw the first stone of ridicule or contempt on a faith that will enable forty men, one after another, to endure what in their sight is the most disgraceful of deaths with as much composure as they would dress on parade, and with loudly expressed scorn for any who should prefer life to the traditional injunctions of his caste. We may stigmatize as fanaticism and ignorance the Stoicism displayed by nearly all the sepoys who have died on the scaffold, or been blown from the guns; but how should we describe a like constancy displayed by men of our race in defence of the Christian faith? We easily believe what we wish, says Cæsar, and we judge of others' sentiments by our own. We are unwilling to allow, even to ourselves, that patriotism, the desire to rid himself altogether of a race uncongenial in every way, the very natural desire to recover the lost patrimony of his race, the terror of losing his cherished caste and ancient faith, can have impelled the sepoy to mutiny; we wish to suppose that murder and rapine, and the perpetration of devilish cruelties too horrible to utter, have been his only motive; we desire this to be the case, and therefore we easily believe it is so; and thus, by believing what we wish, and by judging of the native sentiments of caste, religion, morality, and cruelty by our own, we at once illustrate the truth of the

great warrior's epigram, and the injustice of our own ruthless animosity.

You hear wiseacres constantly talking of exterminating the present race of high-caste sepoys, as if they were rabbits in a warren, and of recruiting elsewhere. Have they any idea of the constitution of the Bengal army, for instance, when they talk thus airily of extinguishing its high-caste element? There are in that army upwards of 30,000 men of the Rajpoot race, and upwards of 20,000 Brahmins, the two highest castes of Hindoos. In the Bengal army, the high-caste men, viz., Brahmins and Rajpoots, compose two-thirds of the entire number; the inferior castes and Mussulmans making up the remaining third in equal proportions; the Christians only numbering one per cent.! In the Bombay army the proportion of high-caste men is not quite so great; but still it is considerable. In a regiment of 725 men I saw at Nuggur in 1853, there were about 400 high-caste Hindoos: 100 Piwarris, or horse-keeper caste; 70 or 80 Mussulmans, and a few Christians, and other castes: so that it is not only in Bengal we have the high-caste element to deal with. In Madras the proportion is lower; there not being probably more than 50 or 60 high-caste men in a regiment. In the Bengal infantry the Mussulmans number one in four; in Madras and Bombay, one in five or six. But in the cavalry of Bengal and Madras, they are as near

as possible half-and-half. These high sepoys of the Bengal and Bombay armies do not belong to any particular sects of Brahmins or Rajpoots; and although many of them come from Oude and the Doab, the classes from which they are recruited are not confined to those districts, but scattered over the whole land of Hindostan.. Doubtless, if fortune favoured us, and we had plenty of European soldiers, we might destroy the 50,000 or 60,000 sepoys comprising the high-caste element of the Bengal army; but can we also annihilate the classes from which they spring, and who to a man are animated by the same prejudices and warlike natures? Putting aside altogether the question of our moral right to do so, have we the power of exterminating, root and branch, the Brahmin and Rajpoot races of Hindostan? If not, why do we indulge in the empty and senseless bombast with which our papers are crammed? But the disaffection of the high castes, both of Hindoos and Mussulmans, has drawn with it the sympathy of the lower castes. Those regiments that have mutinied have done so to a man, so that the class destined for immediate destruction is considerably increased; and we must be prepared to dispense our summary justice on the whole of the numberless castes and classes from whose ranks the native army has hitherto been recruited.

To estimate fully the advantages the sepoy has

sacrificed to his caste, his religion, his prejudices, his ambition, his lust for rapine and murder, or whatever may have been the impelling cause, we should compare his pay and position with that of the ryot or labourer of the country. The pay of the sepoy is from seven to nine rupees a month for a private, and forty to sixty for a native officer; and after fifteen years' service, he retires with a pension of from four to fifty rupees a month, according to his rank. A rupee is two shillings, so that the sepoy receives about sixpence halfpenny a day; and after fifteen years retires with a pension of threepence or fourpence a day: the ryot earns about three halfpence or twopence halfpenny at the most, and the labour he has to perform for that is severe. When we remember that the actual necessaries of life are at least ten times as cheap as in England, we shall see that the sepoy army is comparatively one of the best paid armies in the world; and that in throwing over the Company's Raj they are also throwing away an amount of pay, and, what the native values a great deal more, a certain pension, that he can never expect to enjoy under any other rule whatever.

The mutiny of the Bengal army can neither be traced to the paucity of European officers, to the preference shown in enlisting high-caste men, or even to the foolish tampering with caste, though doubtless that has been a most serious cause. No! if we want

to discover really and truly the reason why nearly one-half of the native army is in open mutiny and the other half useless—why the millions that have been spent in equipping, paying, and drilling these 300,000 men are now so much thrown into the sea, we must look higher than the sepoy, higher than his caste, creed, or ambition—we must, in fact, look to the fountain-head at once, and visit more than half the disgrace, misery, and ruin of the present mutiny on the high authorities of the Horse Guards at home, who, for the last fifty years, have been selfish enough to turn all the high military appointments of India into a refuge for their needy and destitute friends and relations, and with a persevering want of patriotism, remarkable even in that hot-bed of jobbery, have persisted in sending out the halt, and the fat, and the blind, and the incompetent, for no other earthly reason than that they happened to have family interest, or to be personal friends. The shamefaced manner in which the high military appointments of India—those on which the honour and glory of the country, and the permanence of our rule, actually depended—have been openly jobbed by those in authority, does indeed appear an insult to the head of the state, and a mockery of an imperial parliament and a so-called self-governing people; and one is at a loss which most to marvel at, the asinine meekness of the country, that has for years endured in patience

a prostitution of patronage so ruinous to our power and insulting to our reason, or the recklessness of those who have dared thus openly to set at nought the requirements of the nation, and the palpable rules of common sense.

During the last twenty years these abuses have reached a pitch that challenges the credulity of any reasonable man ; and one scarcely knows whether disgust for those who made the appointments, or commiseration for those who accepted them, is the stronger feeling. About five or six years ago, more or less, the three chief commands in India were held by three old Peninsular officers; gallant men enough, no doubt, and able perhaps to handle a brigade in the days when George IV. was prince, but who, weighed down with the infirmities of threescore years and ten, and suddenly transplanted from their clubs, and their soft carpets, and their short whist, and other metropolitan enjoyments, to the climate of India, retained about as much of their former energy as a Bengal Lascar does in a snow-storm in the Channel: they were perfectly useless. Of these three veterans, one was so nervous, that it was generally understood throughout the army that no salutes were to be fired till he had alighted from his horse! another was so fat and unwieldy that horse exercise was out of the question, and he was obliged to be lifted into his bandy ; whilst the third was the

blindest man, probably, ever seen without a dog, and could not cross the room without assistance! With the perfect knowledge that to such men was intrusted the duty of controlling the discipline, rewarding the merit, and raising the energy of an army numbering over three hundred thousand men, can we even feign surprise at the rapid growth of all the military evils that have so much contributed to the present crisis?

"Save us from Horse Guards appointments!" has been the cry of every officer of Indian experience since the days of the massacre of Caubul; and, when we look at those who have been sent out—men who have only served campaigns in London, Windsor, and Dublin—can we wonder that officers, who during a whole life have been living in a semi state of campaign in Affghanistan, Scinde, the Punjaub, and the Deccan, should mistrust their energy and experience? Some years ago, when danger threatened India, they sent out a Napier; but no sooner was it passed, than he was succeeded by a Gomm, to be again followed by an Anson. Not that I wish to say a word against either of them. The former was a smart officer thirty years ago; and even in 1851 or 1852, was quite up to the command of two or three regiments at the Mauritius; but the control of two or three hundred thousand men in India was a very different thing, as we now unfortunately know;

and I honestly believe that General Anson was, without exception, one of the first men, take him in any point of view you like, that ever went to India, and that his death was most unfortunate for the country; but he was perfectly untried, and owed his appointment solely and entirely to interest.

In their present alarm, the Horse Guards have sent out a soldier of fame; but who amongst us doubts for a moment, that if we pass safely through the present ordeal, and the country again sleeps over its Indian duties, the Horse Guards' pets will immediately monopolise and betray the great interests of India?

Strange as it may appear in one so great, the Duke of Wellington was the greatest enemy the Company's officers ever had: he never would recognise either the propriety or the advantage of employing Indian officers in high commands in India. He systematically ignored their claims and services with a scrupulous exactness, that might have been mistaken for a sense of duty had it not too plainly borne the stamp of prejudice. As is the case with most men, his weaknesses have found a far greater number of servile copyists than his acts of real greatness. How often have officers of the greatest merit, men of European fame, who in other countries would have been selected for the highest commands, returned to this country heralded by the applause and admiration of their countrymen in India, and sanguine in

the conscious knowledge of arduous duty nobly performed, had all their generous aspirations dashed to the ground, and all their ardour turned into bitterness, by the insolent impertinence of the Horse Guards officials, or the more studied *hauteur* of their chief.

Whatever may be his claims and services ("and they really have no time to enter into them, with so many well-connected officers awaiting their turn"), the Indian officer is made at once to feel, by the cold shoulder of the Triton himself and the ill-concealed triumph of his surrounding minnows, that he is not one of the elect, and may look in vain for any of the loaves and fishes destined for those who can prefer better claims than those of mere service.

"Vitia erunt donec homines;" there will be abuses in Government so long as there are men; and it is lost labour to attempt to arrest the exercise of private patronage. It is part of our nature, common to all, to prefer our relations or friends to strangers, and to believe them better; it is a feeling that has probably existed since the days of Adam, and will continue through all time. There are many cases, moreover, in which patronage may be exercised without doing harm to anybody;—the appointment of an attaché, for instance, or a clerk in the Foreign Office, the promotion of a lieutenant or two in the navy, the filling up of staff appointments in time of peace, the

selection of Queen's council or governors of unheard-of islands, or even bishops, signify very little, and the country is very foolish to disturb itself about them. But there are other cases of patronage that do affect everybody individually and collectively, that threaten our honour and reputation and even existence as a great nation, and which it is the duty of every Englishman to oppose; the exercise of patronage that sends incompetent men to command our armies in time of war, that appoints old women—and worse than old women, decrepid old women—to control the destinies of a country like India, this is an exercise of patronage we are all alike bound by the first great law of self-preservation to expose and defeat.

When we remember that in the present crisis the Presidency of Bengal alone has been able in one campaign to send into the field the two Lawrences, Sir James Outram, Neill, Nicholson, Edwardes, Chamberlain, and Wilson, I think we must allow that the Company's officers may fairly complain that, till the temporary appointment of Sir Patrick Grant, not a single Company's officer has ever held the high military appointments of India.

It hardly required the late debate on Sir H. Havelock's pension to prove to the country that it is still the policy of the Horse Guards

> "To damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer;
> And, without sneering, teach the rest to sneer"

at all who rest their claims for promotion on Indian services alone ; but it remains to be seen how much longer the country will permit a *quasi* aristocratic clique to disparage all the rights and exploits of Indian officers in favour of the more pacific claims of family connexions or Parliamentary interest.

CHAPTER XII.

Constitution of Anglo-Indian Army—Average number during ten years —Expense—Qualities of native troops—Irregular cavalry—Force requisite—Iniquity of native police—Their number, power, and oppression.

We will now take a view of the constitution of the Anglo-Indian army ; and we shall see that, as its unreasonable dimensions have been the unforeseen cause of England's greatest danger, so has its enormous cost been the chief cause of the utter prostration and poverty of India. It is a hundred-mouthed hydra, that, having devoured the substance, is now craving for the hand that fed it. I take it for granted that the first step towards ameliorating the general condition of India must be made by reducing the present enormous expenditure within more reasonable limits, and employing the capital thus saved in roads, and tanks, and other remunerative undertakings. The army, as the most glaring instance of misapplied resources, the most imminent of the many diseases at present threatening the body politic of India, must come first under the scalpel.

The force of the Anglo-Indian army, at the outbreak of the mutiny, may be thus enumerated:—

*Regiments.		
24	European Infantry (Queen's) of . . .	1,000 men
4	European Cavalry (Queen's) of . . .	700 „
9	European Infantry (Company's) of . .	800 „
155	Native Infantry „ of . .	1,000 „
55	Native Infantry (Irregular) of. . . .	800 „

and about 30,000 Cavalry, Regular and Irregular, including Contingents: or thirty-seven regiments of European troops, and upwards of 250 regiments of native troops, numbering together rather over 270,000 men; besides a very large force of European and still larger number of native artillery;—altogether, the Anglo-Indian army might roughly be estimated at 290,000 men of all arms. Of that number, the Europeans never amounted to 40,000 men, or one-sixth of the entire army; a frightful discrepancy, which no possible superiority of race can warrant. The cost of the several arms of the service is somewhat as follows:—

Regiments.	£
European Infantry (Queen's) cost	60,000
European Cavalry (Queen's)	80,000
Native Infantry (Regular)	28,000
Native Cavalry (Regular)	38,000
Native Infantry (Irregular)	26,000
Native Cavalry (Irregular).	18,000

Taking an average of ten years, there has never

* The exact number of Regiments is not of so much importance as the gross total of the troops.

been less than 260,000 Queen's and Company's troops in India; and only at one period during the year 1847 did they number more than 290,000. For the last few years they have fluctuated between 280,000 and 290,000 men of all arms. During the same period the Company's troops have never fallen below 230,000, and never risen above 270,000 men; they are now between 250,000 and 260,000 men.*

This number includes regular and irregular infantry and cavalry, and European artillery and infantry. In Bengal, the Queen's and Company's during the last ten years, have never numbered less than 130,000, and in 1853 almost reached the maximum of 170,000 men. In Madras, during the same period, the number of Queen's and Company's troops have remained very steady, between 60,000 and 70,000 men. In Bombay, during the same period they have never exceeded 60,000 men, and are now somewhat under 50,000.

The cost of this enormous force considerably exceeds ten millions sterling;—a ruinous sum to impose on the progress and prosperity of a country whose industrial resources have for more than half a century been wilfully or unavoidably neglected. The army must be reduced and that largely; the question for Parliament now to settle is, how that can be effected without relaxing our hold on the country.

European artillery is even more expensive than

* See Thorburn's Diagrams.

European cavalry. Thus we see that the cost of the European element, Company's and Queen's, including artillery, is somewhat under three millions; whilst that of the native element cannot be safely estimated at less than eight and a half millions, exclusive of native artillery and commissariat. The regular native infantry costs half as much as the European infantry; and the regular native cavalry costs more than half as much as a regiment of Queen's cavalry. Now there can be no doubt whatever that, for all fighting purposes, one regiment of Queen's infantry is worth four regiments of natives; and one regiment of Queen's cavalry worth any number of regular native cavalry, for they are actually worth nothing at all. But we have already seen that the present cost of the European element is scarcely one-third of that of the native; and, therefore, by disbanding the whole native force, and doubling the number of Europeans, we should, at one half of the present expenditure, have an army at least six times as efficient! But, unfortunately, the climate of India utterly negatives any plan that is based on the employment of European troops alone. The duties of collecting revenue, performing the necessary patrol and police duties, supplying the innumerable prison and pilgrimage guards, and, in fact, all duties where exposure to the sun is necessary, is fatal to Europeans. All these must be left to natives; and it may be received as an unques-

tionable fact, that, if we are to retain possession of India, we must have a native army.

The whole native army, as at present existing, is rotten to the core; and, from whatever cause it may have arisen, the spirit of disaffection exists largely in the Bombay and Madras armies. We have not as yet dared to move large bodies of those troops against the mutinous sepoys of Bengal. The British empire in India has been tottering to its very base; and the unexampled heroism of our own troops has alone saved it. They have performed prodigies; and the deeds of the handful of heroes who, during the hottest months of the Indian solstice, have, under Havelock and Sir Colin Campbell, contended successfully in the field against ten times their number of splendid troops, perfectly drilled, armed, and officered, and supplied with all the munitions of war, is unparalleled in the history of war. England may indeed be proud of her children; but she has no right to expect from them such self-sacrifice.

Let us consider the qualities of our native troops. The regular infantry, composed of men averaging five feet nine inches, sober, willing, and obedient, were certainly very splendid troops, and the most orderly and economical in the world; but they have drunk of the stream of violence, and are mad; they never again can be trusted with European arms and discipline. The regular cavalry is probably the worst

and most useless arm of any service in the world, not excepting the Neapolitan and Roman heroes, who mutually run away when they meet each other. They have always been notorious for their inefficiency in all military matters more important than escort or parade; and their only use has been to escort governors, or to supply newspaper artists with startling pictures of dusky warriors dashing fiercely through imaginary Persian squares. Their recent brutality has been in exact proportion to their former cowardice. The irregular infantry is composed chiefly of the warlike spirits of the countries where they are raised; the best is composed of Sihks, Affghans, Ghoorkas, Beelooches, and other isolated tribes; and although not so imposing in appearance as the Bengal Sepoys, they are hampered by no caste, and will go anywhere; their cost is about the same, and it is not too much to say they would be doubly efficient.

If the regular native cavalry is the worst in the world, the irregular cavalry is almost the best: those only who have seen them on their native plains, and heard the accounts of their incredible marches and daring deeds, their chivalrous sense of honour and exalted notions of the profession of arms, can have any idea of the excellency of the irregular cavalry corps of India; and although their efficiency is at least six times as great as that of the regular cavalry, their cost is not above half.

Thus whilst the regular infantry can never again be trusted, and the regular cavalry can only be relied on for their inefficiency, the irregular infantry and the irregular cavalry both present us with troops cheaper, more reliable, and more useful.

On every score, therefore, of economy and efficiency, any future native army we may possess should be raised and organized entirely on the irregular system.

A good deal has lately been written in the papers about enlisting Cingalese, Dyaks, and Malays from the Archipelago, but these are merely the suggestions of one ignorant of the races he mentions.

The Malays, from mismanagement, or some other cause, will no longer take service with us; and the Ceylon Rifles, formerly entirely recruited from that race, have now to go to the Cape and the Mauritius for Hottentots, Kafirs, and Fingoes. The Dyaks and Cingalese are probably the most pusillanimous races in the world; they are small, feeble, and unwarlike, and would stand as much chance against the stately Bengal Sepoy as a Mexican greaser would with a life guardsman.

It is probable that, for some years at least, the present number of 40,000 European troops, and the present force of irregulars, consisting of fifty-five regiments of infantry, and forty-one of cavalry, will scarcely be sufficient for the patrol of the country; and it becomes a question, how many Europeans

this country can afford to keep in India, and what irregular force should be raised to assist them.

It is calculated that to replace the losses by climate and indiscretion, Europeans in India must be re-recruited at the rate of twenty-five per cent. per annum. There is no doubt that, by a more rational partition of our army, and by withdrawing regiments from colonies where a police would be more effective, we should have many more disposable troops without any great addition to our present army, and be able to spare 18,000 men yearly for service in India. That would represent 70,000 men, which is probably about the maximum we could afford to keep in the country. The force may be thus stated:—50,000 infantry, at a cost of £3,000,000; ten regiments of calvalry, costing £800,000; and 10,000 artillery, costing £1,000,000; which would give us an army of somewhat under 70,000 Europeans, at a cost rather less than £5,000,000. If to these we add an irregular force, consisting of

55 Regts. Irr. Inf. 1000 men at £28,000 =	55,000 at	£1,540,000
50 Regts. Irr. Cav. 500 men at £18,000 =	25,000 at	900,000
	80,000 at	£2,440,000

we should possess altogether an army consisting of 70,000 Europeans, and 80,000 natives, costing a little over £7,000,000; and thus have an army half

the size, but twice as efficient, for less than two-thirds of the cost of our present army.

Nobody doubts that, with improved means of transit, 150,000 men are amply sufficient for all the requirements of India.

It will probably be objected, that the sweeping removal of half our native army would deprive of their professions and means of livelihood some 3,000 European officers of all grades. Such an objection should be at once dismissed from the mind; no project can really have for its aim the advancement of Indian civilization, the development of Indian resources, and the firm establishment of English supremacy, that advocates the removal of a single educated European from the country.

It is the want of a sufficient number of educated Europeans scattered through the country, and brought into intimate communication with the native population, that more than anything else constitutes the great impediment to the solid foundation of our rule. All officers so removed from military employment should be transferred to a police corps, organised on somewhat the same principle as the Irish police, or our naval coast guard establishment; where they would find much more interesting and profitable employment in liberating the natives from their present intolerable tyranny of a native police, than in drinking strong military sherries and brandy pawny

at the head-quarters of their regiment. But here we enter on a subject that perhaps, of all others connected with our rule, is the most disgraceful, and calls most urgently for reform. If the army is the hydra whose hundred mouths have devoured the substance and drained the wealth of the country for more than fifty years, and blasted all her hopes of fair prosperity, the police has been the ravening wolf whose insatiable appetite has cruelly and unceasingly gnawed at the very vitals of all social liberty and progress.

It is probably impossible to devise any system that is more certain to eradicate all freedom of thought and action, and to degrade to the lowest possible pitch the morality of the human race, than the present system of village and Government police in India. To one unacquainted with the country, the absolute power possessed by the Government and village police over the liberty, property, and even lives of the natives, is incredible; and we have only to read the remarks of Colonel Sleeman,* and the reports of Mr. Halliday on the system of village police, and the Parliamentary Blue Book on torture, to acknowledge at once with shame, that neither Austrian nor Russian police, Roman sbirrhi, or Neapolitan spies, ever possessed half the power of evil daily exercised by the native police of India. It is

* See Appendix.

rather startling to be told, that after a continued occupation of the country for fifty or sixty years, during which three or four generations of Englishmen have ruled and passed away from India, the liberty, possessions, and even lives of upwards of a hundred millions of our subjects are still at the mercy of an organized army of myrmidons, paid by our Government, acting nominally under our instruction, and justifying every act of oppression and wrong by the authority of British magistrates and ministers of justice. Recruited from the lowest ranks of the population, directed by native officers who know no law but the will of the highest bidder, the Government police are an object of terror to all the poorer classes of India. Their services are always in the market, ready alike at the call of the ill conditioned, who purchase their assistance to wrong and oppress their neighbours, or of the timid and orderly, who are willing to pay heavily for protection. Instead of being agents of justice, and defenders of right, the police is everywhere the inseparable companion of extortion and wrong; and there is little doubt that they are indirectly the cause, and directly the perpetrators of more crimes than all other classes of India put together. A native will suffer almost any amount of ill-treatment and fraud, rather than invoke the aid of the police; he knows full well that if he is rich, his wealth will attract

their cupidity, and if poor, his poverty will as surely excite their revenge. Oftentimes has the wretched native, who, smarting under the first sense of oppression, has paid largely to secure the assistance of the police, been too happy soon after to pay quadruple the sum, to be allowed to suffer in peace. The Government system is simple, and would be good enough, if there were European officers enough to regulate the conduct of the subordinates. Every collectorate is subdivided into twelve or fifteen districts, called Thanahs, varying in extent from 100 to 1,000 square miles, and containing on an average probably from 60,000 to 80,000 inhabitants; every district is under the control of a native officer called a Darogah, with twelve or twenty men, and to his tyranny and unrestrained avarice are committed the property and happiness of the entire population of his district. Almost invariably raised to his position by favour or plotting against his superiors, he knows that at any time he again may be removed to make way for a more successful rogue; his sole object, therefore, is to make the most of the time and opportunity that is given him; and we have only to glance through the police reports, before referred to, to see that he does not fail in the laudable object. The office is almost invariably filled by men of low caste and no character; and so abhorred and dreaded has the mere title of Darogah become throughout the

country, from its having been invariably associated with all the most atrocious cases of cruelty and extortion, that no respectable native of caste and established position is ever found willing to take it; and almost the first step towards cleaning the Augean stable of Mofussil justice should be to change at once the hated title. All the high caste men and soldiers of fortune resort to the regular or irregular armies, whilst the police is the refuge for the lowest and most despised of all castes and religions; their pay is proportioned to their low position in the social scale, and is little more than half of that received by the Sepoys. If the number of European officers were sufficiently increased, either by the organization of a distinct corps, or, as I before proposed, by appointing officers of the regular army to the position of Darogah of each one of these districts, the whole system would work well, and the social improvement of the native of India take a start that now is impossible. The Government police in India would then resemble the Irish constabulary, or the naval coast-guard stations of these islands. I cannot fancy any officer with a soul above beer and billiards, preferring the monotony of mess life in cantonments, to an independent superversion of justice over 500 or 600 square miles of country, and 60,000 or 80,000 inhabitants.

The chowkedar, or village police, are worse even

than the Government police; they are thirty times more numerous, and therefore possess thirty times the opportunity of harassing and oppressing the natives:—the village system of police is one of the most ancient, as it is, without doubt, one of the most fatal institutions of the country.* In Bengal and the north-west alone the village system intrusts with the power of oppression and extortion upwards of 150,000 of the greatest ruffians in the country; the village policeman is the fawning sycophant of every zemindar, or rich native, who will pay him for oppressing and pillaging the weak; he is to the timid villagers of India what the fierce retainers of Front-de-Bœuf and Malvoisin were to the Saxon villagers of England: recruited almost without exception from the scum of all classes—nominally receiving six shillings a month, but frequently getting no pay at all, and growing rich on extortion and wrong—robbers by inclination, habit and caste—slaves of the strong and tyrants of the weak—these men serve no purpose but to hamper justice and foster tyranny; and the atrocities they perpetrate and the cruelties they commit, avowedly by the direction of Government, but in reality to please some wealthy native, or for their own private schemes of extortion, are enough to make the British name cursed in every village in India.

* See Appendix.

No plan for the amelioration of India can effect any real good, that does not commence with the establishment of a just and honest police, under the immediate control of European officers, in the place of the present abominable and fatal system.

CHAPTER XIII.

Public Works—Native and British territory—British Injustice—Value of Irrigation—Necessity of Mercantile element to good government of India—Profit attending judicious investments.

WHENEVER the Company are brought to bay and have actually to fight to the death, the question of what the most enterprising and scientific race of the present age have done during a period of fifty or sixty years to develop the resources of the richest country in the world, and to ameliorate the condition of the millions it has undertaken to govern, will naturally occupy much of the attention of Parliament and of the country.

The result of such an inquiry will tell severely against the Company; the causes of the result will be equally condemnatory of the Home Government; the enemies of the Company will point to Blue Books, and evidence of various kinds, to show that not only have we not excelled the native rulers who preceded us in the Government of India, but that we have actually fallen short of them; whilst the Directors will refer to returns and estimates, which nobody will

understand, for what has been done, and to railroads and telegraphs for what is now doing, to prove that their rule has been most beneficent; they will urge, and justly so, the debt incurred by the bellicose policy of the Home Government, by the wars of Rangoon and Affghanistan, of Scinde and the Punjaub, as a sufficient excuse for any shortcomings in the path of progress; but no amount of argumentation can alter the great fact, that neglect of our public works, from whatever cause it may have arisen, has been the most disgraceful and disastrous feature of our rule. It is impossible to exaggerate the evil; and no amount of estimate or evidence can throw the slightest doubt on the fact, that during the last fifty years, the works that foster prosperity, and on which in many districts public wealth alone depends, have suffered from neglect, that might perhaps have been equalled, but could not be exceeded, by the worst native power that can rule in the country.

There is no room for argument on the subject; facts speak for themselves; the countries we have held the longest, although formerly the richest, are now the poorest, whilst those last annexed are comparatively wealthy; as I said before, we have held Madras longer than any other part of India. It was the richest district of the peninsula, it is now the poorest. Oude, on the other hand, our most recent

acquisition, has for many hundred years been the head-quarters of Mussulman domination; and whilst we are told it was a plague-spot on the otherwise healthy surface of the country, which every consideration of policy and even general philanthropy should induce us to occupy, we find, when we have annexed it, that it is without any exception the most wealthy and prosperous country in India; its fertility and cultivation exceed anything our territories can produce, and its population amounts to the unparalleled average of 300 to the square mile.

It is no use arguing against facts; it is no use proving by self-eulogistic arguments, that we rule India so much better than the natives, when we find their territory rich, ours poor,—their population abounding, whilst ours is yearly decreasing, and seeking in emigration, to Ceylon and the West Indies, the means of subsistence their own country denies them. After all, in a country like India, where every man can go where he likes, population must be a great proof of prosperity. If our government were so much better than that of Oude; if, in fact, the native rulers were the blind, insensate tyrants we are taught to believe, would not the inhabitants of that country leave in great numbers, and seek in neighbouring districts, equally rich, all the vaunted benefits of European justice and enlightenment? But that is not the case; bad as their government may be, they.

prefer in to ours, and often quit our territory for those of the remaining native princes. After all, is it strange that of two bad governments, they should prefer the one their forefathers have lived under for countless generations, to one of strangers, and but of yesterday? I do not wish to be misunderstood: I think it is impossible to exaggerate the nature and extent of the debt we have incurred to the people of India, by neglecting the works of irrigation which we received with the country, and on which alone the wealth and even existence of many millions of the population depends. We have deprived the natives of the power of increasing, or even of preserving those works handed down to them by their ancestors, on the score that we could do it better and more effectually than they: and we have not done it at all!

We go to church and we sympathise with the rebellion of the Israelites against the unfeeling task-masters of Pharaoh; ought we to be content with a feeling of sympathy for injustice that drove a nation to despair several thousand years ago? Ought we not to apply the moral to ourselves, now, in our own dominions and in the present generation?

The Egyptians maintained the original tale of bricks, but deprived the labourers of the means of making them. "Go get you straw where ye can: yet not aught of your work shall be diminished." We demand the same tax from the native of India,

but deny him the only means by which his land may be made to produce abundantly: where is the difference between the Egyptians and ourselves? Year after year has the cry gone up from the overtaxed Ryot that the supplies of water were diminishing, or had ceased, and that their crops had withered or not sprung up: and what have we done? Too often sent down a fresh collector with stronger powers; or even called out the military to enforce the tribute: "There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, make bricks." With what face can we, a Christian people, with our Bible affording us an historical warning on this very subject; with what face, I say, can we, when the land-tax falls short of our expectation, and famine decimates the land, say to our starving subjects, "Get ye unto your burdens; ye are idle, ye are idle." May they not with truth answer, "Behold thy servants are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people."

"Qu' on laissoit crier les Poules, dont avoit accoutume de manger les œufs," said the Prince of Nassau, when he was told the Hollanders were grumbling at his grievous exactions. It is all very well to take a certain number of eggs; but if you take them all the hens stop laying, and what then?

The following is the evidence of Colonel Cotton, one of the Commissioners appointed to report on the public works of Madras:—

"So generally, indeed, have I found the works in a defective state, that I believe I may say that nearly all the tanks in the country, and nearly all the channels water less than they did; *many only one-fourth, and great numbers from one-half to three-fourths.*"

And, again, in page 6 of the same Report:—

"The extent of irrigation may be judged from the fact that in fourteen of the chief Ryotwar irrigated districts, the number of tanks and channels considerably exceeds forty-three thousand in repair, *besides ten thousand out of repair.*"

So that under our civilized rule, and in a country where the prosperity, and, as I before said, even the existence of many millions depend on the artificial supply of water, the inhabitants have altogether lost one-fifth of the magnificent works of irrigation left them by their barbarous ancestors, whilst they only derive one-half of the former advantages of those that remain.

It is lost labour to say more on this subject. We know as well as the native the priceless value of irrigation in a parched and burnt-up land; and any one of us who will go to the country, can see as well as he that his rulers have cruelly neglected the work that of all others conduced most to his wealth and happiness.

"The lotos, placed aloft in the thousand temples of

India and Egypt, demonstrates the strong traditional veneration for the aquatic element, which descends down to the generations of Asia from the first speculative race of human philosophers," says the historian of Indian Antiquities. The magnificent works of irrigation left by the native princes of the Carnatic, in fourteen districts alone, represent a capital of fifteen millions; one of them is capable of supplying the "aquatic element" to thirty-two villages for eighteen months; and when we remember that of these, one-fifth are actually useless, and the remainder deprived of half their utility by our indifference and neglect, we must acknowledge we have betrayed one of the most important trusts we undertook in the occupation of the country; and that in thus cruelly ignoring one of the great instincts of the Asiatic race, we have deserved the enmity of millions of the present generation, and shall scarcely escape that of those who come after.

It seems a hard thing to say, but I confess the conviction is strong upon me, that during fifty years our rule has in no way whatever benefited the general community of India: the greater portion of our subjects are as poor as they can be, and yet live. They might have been more oppressed under their native princes; they could not possibly have been poorer. India—at least those portions that have been longest in our possession—is scarcely a country at a stand-

still, but one retrograding, one in which capital and energy are being annually diminished. Wages are as low as they can be, and energy consequently low too; the whole country appears impoverished; and through scores of districts, once comparatively rich and prosperous, the former owners of large tracks of land are now happy to gain a miserable livelihood by cultivating with their own hands a small patch of their former extensive possessions. The worst of it is, nobody gains by this wide-spread decay; our revenue is every year collected with greater difficulty, and the natives become more poverty-stricken and miserable. We are told that we rescued India from native tyranny that was intolerable; but this was not always so—the name of Actemad-ul-Dowlah, Prime Minister of Jehanjire, is to this day reverenced in Hindostan. And why? Let us quote the words of the native historian:—"He regarded the industry of the people, not only as the sources of wealth and prosperity, but also as the surest defence against foreign foes, and the best preservative of internal quiet. Manufactures flourished under his auspices; but it was to the improvement of agriculture that he especially devoted his attention and measures: religious persecutions were unknown, and Hindoos and Mussulmans were equally the object of his care, and placed equally under the direction of his law."

This was in the beginning of the seventeenth

century, when the first Englishman set foot in India. More than two hundred years have elapsed since then, during nearly a hundred of which we have ruled the country. In what degree do your most beneficent professions exceed the policy of this Mahommedan minister?—and why is all this? Not because Englishmen are less enlightened than the minister of Jehanjire, or the native princes of five hundred years ago; not that they are less humane or indifferent to the wants and sufferings of their fellow-men; but their interests are not in the country; they are only there for a season, and look forward with impatience to leaving the country altogether. India is not their country, nor the natives their fellow-countrymen; the progress or prosperity of India does not affect them; their salaries and pensions are the same whether a district yield a hundredfold, or whether it yield nothing at all; they are merely middlemen, placed to manage certain properties, which they may certainly improve, and which it is their duty perhaps to do, but not their particular interest. Duty without any more immediate inducements may be sufficient to keep up the energy of the minority of mankind; but it is useless with the majority; they require something rather more personal. Where the inducements to exertion are so small, the loss of energy so great, and the field of labour so vast, you want five or six men to do the work of one—not one to do the work of six.

Many of the civilians who now rule India, came to the country thirty years ago, before England had entered on that high-pressure rate of progress that is so astonishing and at the same time so dangerous. They have adopted the ideas and measures they found in force on their arrival, and have allowed things to go on in the same way, without any endeavour to ameliorate them, or indeed any perception of the inanimate state of the country.

There can be no doubt whatever that, in any government which professes to base its hope of success on the progress and development of the commerce and resources of the country, the mercantile classes ought to be strongly represented. In the government of India they are entirely ignored: not one of the many enlightened men who have resided for years in the country, and preside over the great mercantile firms in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, have any more to do with the government of the country and the development of its resources, than the passing stranger, or the cadet last arrived from school. It is too ridiculous that a practical mercantile people like ourselves should permit a country, whose wealth and consequent advantages to ourselves depend entirely upon its increased trade, to be governed during fifty years without one single commercial authority being engaged, or even consulted, in the administration of its affairs. Of all classes,

the mercantile is the one that should be most strongly represented in a commercial country. The councils of the three presidencies ought to comprise the leading merchants of the country; and their knowledge of the great science of commerce and international trade, and their go-ahead principles, would do much to quicken and instruct the tardy energies of old Indians.

It is acknowledged on all hands, that the only way to increase the prosperity of India, and to raise its revenue, is to develop its productive resources. Who so fit to aid and advise in that matter as those to whom trade and commerce are a profession, and of necessity a study?

The profit that awaits judicious investments in the public works of that country are enough, indeed, to congregate merchants and capitalists from all parts of the earth. Of thirty-nine works of irrigation undertaken in the Madras presidency, thirteen paid at the rate of 134 per cent. per annum on the capital expended; twenty-three from 3¼ to 47½ per cent.; and only three were unremunerative. Taking an average of the whole, we find the direct profit to be 69½; or, deducting all engineering expenses, we have a clear profit of 53¾ per cent.!!*

In Ceylon, which resembles India more than any

* See page 113, Madras Blue Book—Public Works.

of our other dependencies, the leading merchants exercise a very important influence in the executive government. They are made members of council, commissioners of roads and public works, and, in fact, possess the power of effecting those ameliorations which it is their immediate interest to carry out. Who so likely to advocate improved means of transit and increased development of resources as those who can appreciate at once their advantage and their loss?

It is only necessary to cross from Ceylon to the mainland to see at once the marked advantage exercised by the commercial and mercantile element in the interior development of a country. We have had Ceylon thirty years; and the whole island is intersected in all directions by excellent roads, on which buggies can travel at the rate of eight or ten miles an hour. We have had Madras one hundred years; and there is not a road, so to speak, extending twelve miles out of the capital. I myself have been twelve hours overcoming the difficulties and delays of six miles of a road that is marked in all maps as one on which you might drive a stage-coach ten miles an hour! The immense difference in the prosperity of Ceylon and Madras, owing to the more systematic improvements in the means of transit, may be gathered from the fact, that, whilst in the former the wages are *twice as high*, the cost of transport is *four* times less than it is in Madras.

Naturally, when a man's prosperity depends upon certain improvements of transit and communication, his every energy will be enlisted to secure it. *Ubi dolor, ibi digitus*,—"Where the sore is, there will every one scratch." Neither individually nor collectively do the civil servants in India profit by internal improvement. Individually and collectively every merchant in Ceylon does. The want of communication is his sore; and there he will scratch till he gets relief. In India it is nobody's particular business to get roads. Nobody feels the shoe pinching; and, therefore, nothing is done. We should make it a *sine quâ non* with any future government of India, that the mercantile interest be fully and powerfully represented. In fact, it ought to be the most powerful interest in the country.

The English are an impulsive people They neglect their duty for two or three generations, and then set to work with a sudden energy that frequently defeats its own aims. After leaving India without any means of communication whatever for fifty years, we are now rushing headlong into countless railroads, that will be as costly as they are useless. I believe myself that we ascribe far too much importance to time; and we often make a grievous error in applying the notion that time is money to everything. It is not of the excessive value we love to consider it in this country; and I am often at a loss to discover what

real benefit the human race has derived, either in peace or war, from these wonderful means of locomotion and communication. Of course it is a luxury, and a very great one too, and one that, once enjoyed, can never be dispensed with; but I believe its beneficial effects on the race of man are essentially superficial. What good has it done to this generation? Has it united the various races of the world? drawn more closely the general band of brotherhood? Has it lessened our jealousies, or made nations less prone to quarrel? Is Europe more free or more enlightened? Has it encouraged religion or lessened vice? Has it improved the condition of the masses, or brought the comforts and necessaries of life nearer to the toiling millions of the human race? I don't believe it has. I don't believe that railroads and telegraphs have done much to increase the prosperity, liberty, and civilisation of the world's inhabitants; but still I vote for broad gauges, express trains, and sixty miles within the hour.

In India, where they have not a decent road of any description, the introduction of high speed, expensive railroads is simply absurd; and any thinking man will see, on examination, that the Stock Exchange and the capitalists of England, and not the ryots of India, are intended to benefit by their construction. Time is not money in India; the natives do not wish to travel forty miles an hour, and their agricultural

produce of cotton and rice, the great staples of the country, will not pay for high speed: what is required is cheapness and security, and not speed. Hitherto the natives have been travelling at the rate of ten miles a day; any system of tram or horse-railroads, such as those proposed in Madras twenty years ago, that would enable them to travel ten miles an hour, would be a greater transition of speed for them than the introduction of railroads in this country, that raised our speed from ten to forty miles an hour. If these plans had been carried out, India would now be covered with a net-work of tram-roads connecting all the great cities in the empire, instead of only possessing 300 miles of high-speed railway, scattered over a continent far greater than Europe, and without the slightest prospect of their being connected during the next fifty years. Whilst this gigantic imposition is thus slowly carried out, all the ordinary means of improvement are neglected; common roads, tram-roads, and horse railroads, water communication, and all other means of improvement are carefully laid on one side to make way for the railroads. In the meantime, whilst the grass is growing the horse is starving, and will starve unless he breaks loose and gets away.

One of the first acts of the Imperial Parliament should be to nominate a committee of unprejudiced

men to determine which is the most reasonable mode of transit to introduce into India; one that is cheap, secure and immediate in its results, or that which is most expensive, and must take at the least a quarter of a century to develop.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mistaken views of Caste and Religion—Difficulty of arriving at truth of Missionary labour—Nature of the conversions—Immense Missionary agency—Abbé Dubois, Archbishop of Agra—Difficulties of language—Critical taste of Hindoos.

No subjects connected with India have been so much misrepresented and misunderstood in this country as the great questions of caste and religion. Whilst, on one hand, we are told that the wide-spread alarm of forcible conversion, and the dread of compulsory abolition of caste, caused by the mischievous zeal of the missionaries, has induced the panic-stricken sepoys to mutiny; we hear, on the other, that timidity in the exercise of our own faith, and an undue regard to the prejudices of our subjects, have been the true cause of the evil.

Caste is the oldest institution in the world; it is as ancient as tradition; and before it all existing institutions are as things of yesterday. The caste and religion of the Hindoo are indissoluble: one represents the oldest religion, the other the most ancient aristocracy in the world. The aristocracy of the high-caste natives of India is the antiquity of race; with us in Europe it is generally but antiquity of wealth;

and, despise as we may the childish practices and degrading effects of this double institution, no man will venture to esteem lightly the trust of the Hindoo in tradition that connects him with the days of fable, or his confidence in a theology that was ancient before the Pyramids arose on the banks of old Nile, and which has constituted the sole object of the faith of countless millions of his race. The English have always been tolerant of the prejudices of caste and the practices of the Hindoo religion; and no foreign power that has yet ruled India has been able to set them at defiance.

This most necessary toleration has been distorted by mistaken zealots into an organised plot concocted by our rulers for the encouragement of Hindooism at the expense of the Christian faith; and there are thousands in this country who believe that, whilst our Bishops slink about unnoticed and unhonoured, our troops are turned out to present arms to all the wooden gods and goddesses that periodically perambulate the streets of native cities. The very reverse is the case. Hindoo deities have received no honours from soldiers in our service for the last twenty years; and the recognition of the episcopal dignity is loudly announced to the natives of the capitals of British India by a salute of thirteen guns, whenever the bishop leaves or returns to the presidency. The several and contradictory reports of the success of

missionary labour in India illustrate the two opposite extremes of the parable of the sower; and, according to the authorities you consult, you are alternately marvelling whether there is actually one Christian in India, or whether, throughout the greater part of the country, the once powerful creed of Brahma is not forced to hide its diminished head amidst stony rocks and impenetrable jungles. Whilst one relates in glowing and triumphant terms the growth of the seed that fell into good ground, another, in sad and chastened spirit, will tell how all he attempted to sow fell among thorns, and was choked.

These opposite and contradictory reports of the ministers of the Gospel will excite no wonder, when we consider the opposite and contradictory causes that often send labourers to the vineyard. "O domus antiqua, quam dispari dominaris domino!" exclaimed a French bishop, when told of a young clergyman who refused to marry a lady he had deceived, till threatened with the loss of his benefice. And certainly the inducements that lead shepherds to the sheep-fold are as various and discordant as those that swell the ranks of any other profession.

There are scores of earnest simple-minded men in India who pass their whole lives in preaching the Gospel to the Hindoos, without any hope or possibility of bettering their condition in this world; they

have no object either in magnifying or diminishing the success of their efforts: such men, almost without exception, tell the same sad tale of the utter failure of all their labour. But there is another class, who still retain a little of the old leaven, whose minds are not quite so unspotted from worldly motives; who, in fact, in their banishment, have a hankering after tidy parsonages, pretty wives, and clerical port, or perhaps find enjoyment in the laudation of the pious; these men have a reason, and a very sufficient one too, for magnifying their successes, and diminishing their failures. The sad laments of the former over disappointed hopes and wasted years, find the echo of conviction in our hearts; whilst in the marvellous successes of the latter, we recognise the pious frauds without which they cannot replenish their store.

The enthusiasm of the thousands of good, and benevolent, and generous Christians who support missionary enterprise, requires to be periodically encouraged by incontrovertible narrations of infantine devotion, mature excellence, and death-bed conversions; and the marvellous reports of missionary success in the far country, are not so much intended for general circulation as to quicken the generosity of the elect.

The experienced fisher in the teeming waters of the ocean knows well enough that a mackrel is most

easily caught with a bit of its own bright tail; and the crafty fisher in the abundant streams of Christian charity soon finds that to a saint the most attractive bait is an artificial imitation of its own excellence and goodness.

> "Oh, cunning enemy, that, to catch a saint,
> With saints doth bait your hook."

But what really is the plain English of one of these marvellous conversions in India, and elsewhere? A low-caste man, having done something that has deprived him of the little caste he had, comes to the Padrè Brown or Padrè Jones of the district, and with admirable condescension expresses a desire "to take master's caste," and eat anything. He is, straightway, baptized — and the next mail takes home a flaming account of the glorious conversion of poor heathen So-and-so, all his friends and relatives, and the ecstatic state of Padrè Brown's mind thereat. Every now and then the generosity of good Christians at home is roused by some touching instance of death-bed conversion in one of the hospitals. Some miserable low-caste Hindoo, with as much spirit as the worm whose form he dreads to assume in the next world, feels himself dying, and with the natural instinct of humanity, that clings to anything at the end, asks to see the Padrè of the hospital—who, probably, has been kind to him, and treated him more like a human being than any one else. He dies with

the Padrè at his side; and, almost before he has passed away, his scarce coherent words, expressing his firm belief in the Padrè, and his utter discredit of all else besides, become public property, and his name figures in the next Tuesday's report as adding another to the glorious list of missionary triumphs.

But the sudden conversion of this poor spirit-broken outcast is, I fear, but a questionable kind of benefit to the true faith;

> "Heaven scarce believed the conquest it surveyed,
> And saints with wonder heard the vows he made;"

—or, rather, that were made for him. And nobody knows better than the good Padrè himself—that, if this poor pariah had recovered, he would not probably have been, for the future, very solicitous about "the true faith of a Christian."

These observations are not made in an unchristian spirit. I do not wish for a moment to deny the labour and good intentions and exemplary lives of by far the greater number of missionaries in India; I believe fully that they live more in accordance with the strict injunctions of the Christian faith than any other class of Europeans in India; but when I assert that the result of their labour is small and disproportioned to their numbers and efforts, I am only expressing the convictions of many of the wisest and most experienced men in the country. Of course, I have read, and marvelled at, the statistics of mission-

ary labour at Madras, and elsewhere; I have been told of the thousands of communicants, the hundreds of catechists, and the scores of ordained natives, that have rewarded the exertions of the pious in that country, and I have been triumphantly asked, is not this something? certainly, it is: but not in the sense implied by the interrogator; these figures represent so many hundreds or thousands of human beings freed from a degrading tyranny and a childish faith, and so far it *is* something: but it no more represents that number of Christians than our ticket-of-leave men with chaplain's certificates do reformed convicts. Alas! these goodly figures carry small conviction to my mind; and when I consider the exertions of the 22 Missionary Societies who supply the 443 agents in India, and the sums expended by this vast agency, I declare I am only surprised the number is not twenty times as great. It is the lowest caste only who form the staple of Christian converts, and when one considers that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the change; that they are told, that if they take the Sahib's caste they will be better than even the revered Brahmin; my only wonder is, that they do not all embrace Christianity *en masse;* and I maintain that the same labour, and the same sums expended amongst our heathen at home, would have been fifty times as successful. Infidelity, hatched in the hotbeds of misery and vice of our

crowded cities, rears aloft its hideous front, and, with a beastly crowd of attendant vices, boldly stalks abroad, destroying with its pestilential breath thousands that come within its reach. Where is the sense or reason of leaving this monster unhurt to seek in foreign lands one far less fatal? In our gin palaces, and in the suffocating workshops of our capital, we have sacrifices that are quite as frightful, and far more numerous than the self-immolations of Juggernauth, or the triumphant suttee of a few Hindoo widows. Should not the hecatombs of victims that glut the shrines of intoxication and vice, and the lengthened torture and death of the overtasked needlewomen of this country, induce us to look more anxiously at home before we turn our eyes abroad? Of course, it will be urged, that these are calamities inseparable from great communities; and so indeed they are; but though they cannot be cured, they are capable of mitigation, and notwithstanding all that is done, so much yet remains, that, as I said before, when I consider these things, I grudge every man and every shilling that goes elsewhere.

I am sorry to say I cannot believe in the vast successes of missionary labour: I have seen a good deal of them in different parts of the world; I have been the guest of missionaries on the Prairies of the far West, and on the banks of the mighty rivers of tropical America; on the site of old Memphis, and

amidst the forests and jungles of India and Ceylon; I have conversed on the spot with men whose lives had been passed amongst the fierce Red Men of the north, and more timid aborigines of the south; the Arabs of the Desert, and the Hindoos and Bhuddists of our far off possessions; and all the honest men invariably told me they were doing no good, and all the hypocrites laid claim to miracles.

How constantly when the traveller approaches the spot where he had been led to suppose the seed had taken root and multiplied a hundredfold, or sixtyfold, does he look in vain for the gentle spirit, and fair fruit of Christianity, and find instead the fatal brambles of the thousand vices of nascent civilization! At any Missionary Meeting at Exeter Hall, you may get at the bright side of missionary labour in India; but what is the reverse? What is the account of those earnest Christians, who, sent out by their Church, owe nothing to voluntary contribution, and have no end or object in exciting the religious enthusiasm of their fellow-countrymen? What was the melancholy experience of the abbé Dubois, who for thirty-two years laboured unremittingly in the work of Christianity? That during that protracted labour he had made between two and three hundred converts, but they were all from the low castes, and became Christians from interested motives! There were in his day, also, numerous congregations of professed Christians,

who would attend the Sahib's church or chapel, but they also attended their own temple and priest, with equal indifference. If a high-caste man loses his caste, he will beggar himself to pay the necessary fines to recover it; he would rather die than forfeit his caste; but he would rather die a thousand deaths than renounce his faith; and it is almost as reasonable to expect the Archbishop of Canterbury to assist at a suttee, or to officiate on the shrine of the Hindoo Moloch, as for a high-caste Hindoo to become a Christian. Five-and-thirty years have elapsed since the return of the abbé Dubois; but time makes no difference in the veneration of the high-caste man for his tradition and his creed. The Christian faith is still recruited from the lowest castes, and I marvel not at their numbers, but at their paucity.

The answer of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Agra to M. de Lanoye, who, in 1851, "inquired what progress our religion was making amongst the natives," displays still more strongly the almost hopeless task of contending against the faith of the Hindoo: "Des progrès!" said the bishop, sadly shaking his head; "mais quelle influence pouvons-nous avoir l'esperance d'exercer sur l'esprit d'un pareil peuple? Dès que nous parlons à un Hindou des miracles de Jehova ou du Christ, il se met immédiatement à nous opposer les miracles bien plus surprenants de Krichna, qui éleva une montagne sur

son petit doigt en guise de parapluie, pour mettre sa bergère à l'abri d'un orage. Il ne doute aucunement de la réalité de nos récits; il n'est surpris que d'une chose, c'est de la simplicité de nos dogmes et de nos miracles. En pareille matière, rien ne lui semble trop extraordinaire. Si vous lui racontiez que pour depiller les yeux des Corinthiens, Saint Paul a fait descendre sur la terre le soleil et la lune, et les a fait ensuite rebondir à leur places respective comme des ballons, sans le moindre inconvénient pour aucune des trois planètes, il le croirait sans difficulté; les légendes boudhiques et puraniques l'ont blazé à cette égard; mais, à l'exemple du chevalier de la Manche, il se rappelerait aussitôt un folie plus incroyable encore de son type idéal, c'est-à-dire de Krichna."

With such statements before him, I fear the sad conviction must occasionally cross the mind of the unprejudiced observer who visits the country, that, whatever may be the future progress of Christianity in India, the labour of the missionary is now about as well rewarded as that of Ulysses, when he sowed the seashore with salt; and that their eloquence would be better expended in preaching to the fishes with St. Anthony, than in attempting the conversion of the Hindoos. Many other obstacles besides the want of faith interfere with missionary labour in India; the greatest of which is the difficulty, if not impossibility, of expressing yourself with eloquence and power in a foreign tongue.

St. Francis Xavier had the gift of tongues; he never had to undergo the drudgery of learning a language, but was always ready at a moment's notice to converse and preach in that of the land on which he happened to be shipwrecked, or the country into which he had wandered. Chinese, Cingalese, and the other twenty or thirty languages of the far East, were all equally familiar to this polyglot saint; but somehow the gift is wanting to the missionaries of the present day. Englishmen are not first-rate linguists at any time; and we know how many of our acquaintances are sufficiently fluent even in French, to argue critically on profound questions of theology, or even to preach a sermon in that language. The audience, I fear, who came to pray, would be very apt to remain to scoff: and it is well to remember that the gift of tongues is not more common on the banks of the Jumna than on those of the Thames. The educated Hindoos are especially critical in all matters connected with composition and delivery; their language and articulation are soft and musical, and their holy writings remarkable for elegance of diction, and the poetry of the descriptions; and it requires no great amount of imagination to understand that a clerically attired missionary, although possibly earnest and patient to a degree, expounding

"Doctrines orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks"

on a pulpit improvised for the occasion, and hammering away in a language with which he is at best but most imperfectly acquainted, on a subject with which they are accustomed to associate every quality of poetry and eloquence, may excite the wonder, and perhaps the ridicule, of his audience; but, without miraculous interference, cannot possibly shake their faith in their own priests and records.

Of all countries in the world, India is the one that gives the least encouragement to the conscientious Christian missionary. In New Zealand were discovered races of men without any distinct faith whatever; the ground was lying fallow, and where the seed fell it took root, and brought forth good fruit apparently (for they say parson meat is not half so much cared for as formerly). In Africa, also, there are millions who are innocent of any object of worship but an indefinite fetish, which does not enlist their very earnest sympathies, and which they will always sell for a glass of grog; and in China there is an utter indifference to every established form of worship, that affords the strongest hope of future Christianity. But in India the case is very different; there the missionary has not only to plant, but, before he can get a seed into the ground, he has to clear away the primæval forests and impenetrable jungles of thousands of years of prejudice and tradition; he has at the threshold to contend with a dis-

tinct and elaborate system of theology, expounded and defended by the most subtle theologians in the world, armed with all the arguments and experiences that the sophistry of the most ancient school of philosophy has sharpened for their defence. The theology of the Hindoos is, without doubt, the most ancient in the world. They have a history, complete in all its parts, that dates back 2,000 years before the Messiah, and which treats of Hindoo history for millions of years before. Their Shastas, supposed to be 1,500 years older than their Vedas, are the oldest books of any description in the world; and they have a tradition, that in the fourteenth century, Cuttub-ul-din, the Affghan, found a stone in a temple, that dated back 40,000 years. All this may be false, and probably it is; but that does not much signify, when it is implicitly credited by every Hindoo, from Cape Comorin to the Five Rivers.

The Brahmins maintain that they can trace back their religion to a period far anterior to any era of ours. They boldly date their records before the flood; and count the antiquity of the world by millions of years instead of thousands; and the answer they give to all attempts at conversion is simple, but hard to evade. Truth, says the Brahmin, was from the beginning; the most ancient religion contains most truth; mine is the most ancient, and therefore the most true.

Of course the groundwork of every system of

theology must be faith; and without implicit faith no religion could exist an hour. Christians possess that faith in their revelation, the Hindoo in his. "Demandez à ce crepaud ce que c'est la beauté," says Voltaire, "il vous repondra que c'est sa crepaude." If you ask a Hindoo what is his notion of religion, he will point to his own scriptures as containing the beauty of holiness; talk to him of faith, and you will find that his, ridiculous as it may be, is as strong as yours, and ready at any moment to endure as much or more; and few, I imagine, who have had opportunities of judging, will deny that the Hindoo lives in more strict accordance with his professions than we Christians do.

The high-caste natives maintain that in our endeavours to extend our faith, we have availed ourselves of the powers of government: and that the success which the Mussulmans obtained with the sword, we have ensured by the no less dreaded enactments of the law: we, of course, deny the accusation; but is it true? A Hindoo relies as implicitly on his idea of a future state as any Christian can on his, and believes that, without the observance of certain religious rites at his death, his soul will never escape from the dreaded torments of a "dog's body," or a woman,* or some other denizen of the purgatory of

* Those who believe in the transmigration of souls dread nothing so much as the possibility of assuming the form af a woman.

those who rely on the tenets of Metempsychosis for future happiness; by Hindoo law a son is obliged to perform these necessary ceremonies, and the neglect of them affects his right of inheritance; and so important are they esteemed, that, if a man have no son, he is allowed to adopt any one he chooses, who, in the eye of his law, is in every respect his very son. By English law, the son, if a Christian, may dispense altogether with those sepulchral rites; and the law of adoption, the last hope of the childless Hindoo, is ignored: these innovations are direct attacks on the caste and faith of the Hindoo, and although we may call it merely justice, and the duty of civilization, it may still appear to those who are attached to such institutions by immemorial tradition the height of tyranny and injustice. Suppose the Chinese were to conquer a Roman Catholic country, and to deny to dying Christians the right of extreme unction, it would not affect their trust and confidence in a future state more completely than do these enactions of our legislature the hopes and peace of the faithful Hindoo. Say what we will, we *have*, thoughtlessly perhaps, or even for the best, interfered legally with the strict observance and tradition of the Hindoo ritual, and it is worth while now that there appears a disposition in this country to interfere more authoritatively, to weigh well the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, one of the greatest men who ever went to India, on this very

subject. "In every country, but especially in India, where the rulers are so few and of a different race from the people, it is the most dangerous of all things to tamper with religious feelings. They may be apparently dormant; and when we are in unsatisfactory security, they may burst forth in the most tremendous manner, as at Kellore. They may be set in motion by the slightest incident, and do more mischief in one year than all the labours of missionary collectors would repair in a hundred. Should they produce only a partial disturbance, which is quickly put down, even in this case the evil would be lasting; distrust would be raised between the people and the Government, which would never entirely subside, and the districts in which it happened would never be so safe as before."

The following is the opinion of the abbé Dubois, published in 1820, and quoted by Colonel Sykes, in his very able speech before Parliament. "The Hindoos are a people entirely different from all others. You may, if you choose, exercise over them the most despotic sway; you may oppress them by every kind of tyranny; you may overload them with taxes, and rob them of their property; you may carry away their wives and children, load them with chains, and send them into exile—to all such excesses they will, perhaps, submit; but if you speak of changing any of their principal institutions, either religious or civil,

you will find a quite ungovernable people, never to be overcome on this point; and it is my decided opinion, that the day when Government shall presume to interfere in such matters will be the last of its political existence.

"All know that nothing is better calculated to produce irritation, opposition, and resistance, than contradiction; above all, when the contradicted party is the strongest and most obstinate. Now, such is precisely the effect produced by the interference of the new reformers with the prejudices of the Hindoos, and I have reason to apprehend that the opposition of the latter will increase in proportion to the extent of the contradiction to which they may be exposed, until it shall finish by some explosion, which may make all India a theatre of confusion and anarchy, to which it will be in the power of no Government to apply a remedy."

The Hindoos do not seek to shake the faith of others, nor will they yield one atom of their own. "We want not," say the Brahmins, "that others should adopt our worship; let all men adhere to the religion of their fathers;" and without considering what the particular religion of their fathers may be, what profession of faith can be more noble? Do we not always doubt a man who deserts the religion of his fathers? And why should the Hindoo change now? why should he desert a creed that is as old as

tradition for one that is comparatively new, and which, alas! the feuds and jealousies of its own advocates lead him to suppose is in many points inconsistent? The Hindoo thinks he is right; can we prove to him he is wrong? Has our conduct and behaviour during the last hundred years been such as to prove to him that he is wrong? It is not enough that we *know* the Christian religion to be the best, unless we can make it appear so. "Il ne suffit pas d'être belle il faut paraître," is a truism fully appreciated by many a pretty woman as she puts the last touches to her toilette; and it is one not a little applicable to rival creeds. Our faith is pure, and reasonable, and elevates the physical and moral condition of those who live up to its precepts; but it is no use our knowing such to be the case, unless we can lead the Hindoos to think so too. Up to this time we have done little to prove it; and the natives of India do not appear to be much impressed with its superiority.

The learned Hindoos are far from being bigots, and are perfectly tolerant of all other creeds. They teach that the Great Being takes delight in a variety of worship. They are always ready to discuss the chief points of their faith, when their opponent will enter into it in the spirit of tolerance and justice; but the laughter of the fools, who think it a Christian duty to throw contempt on a faith they cherish

far more than life itself, is met with scorn and hatred as bitter and as deep.

Your Brahmin is a good sophist, and readily assents when he sees that by so doing he can overthrow the entire structure of his opponent's argument. He will agree with you so far as to disarm you; and many a sanguine missionary has been disappointed, when, on concluding what he fancied a victorious argument with, "Well, I hope you are at last convienced!" he is met with, "Many thanks; but I am far more uncertain than before." The Brahmin says, "You want me to believe in Christ. Well, I have no objection. Your Christ is only another name for one of the emanations of the Supreme Deity. Christ is our Chrisna, the fourth or fifth avatar of Vishnu, or the preserver. Our Chrisna, like yours, was born of poor parents, and cradled in a manger; and if you look at our temples, you will see the cows licking him, and that is why we worship the cow. But you are less favoured than we are. The Supreme Being has vouchsafed to us nine avatars, and there is a tenth to come; whilst you have only one. And how did you treat your God? With cruelty and death. We did not so disgrace the Godhead."

This, of course, is only so much trash; but it carries conviction to the minds of all Hindoos.

When you throw ridicule on a wooden or stone deity, and ask scornfully whether he can hear and see, &c., you are answered immediately, "Oh, that is one of the

mysteries of our faith;" and if, on the other hand, your adversary is inquisitive, and asks questions about your Trinity, what can you say? "When I have baled the sea dry, thou shalt understand the Trinity," said St. Austen to a convert, who tackled him on that subject; and if St. Austen could not explain it, how can we? And how can you answer better than by repeating your opponent's own words, "Oh, that is one of our mysteries." With the choice of two mysteries, you cannot be surprised that he should prefer the one that has been cherished by his ancestors for a thousand generations, to one introduced but as yesterday by a stranger, if not an enemy. The high-caste Hindoos do not dislike us on account of our religion; and so long as it does not induce us to interfere with the free exercise of his own, it is matter of the most complete indifference to him whether Christ or Mahommed is the object of our worship. The good Bishop Heber lived with the Hindoos, travelled amongst them, and talked with them; and the wide-spread grief of the whole native population of British India at his premature death, proves at once the absence of any feeling of bigotry or intolerance towards the creeds of others. At Madras and Bombay, subscriptions were opened to raise monuments in honour of this real benefactor of the human aace; and, although the subscriptions were limited to the lowest sums, in order that all might be able to contribute, the amount collected in a few days was considerable. Rich and

poor, citizens and villagers, Brahmins and Banians, and even those of the lowest caste, all exerted themselves to contribute their mite.

Their indifference regarding the creed of their rulers is even more remarkable; and the eventful history of the Begum Sumroo, the mother-in-law of Dyce Sombre, a Mahommedan girl bought in the bazaar by the Rajah of Sindhana, who, in spite of embracing Christianity and marrying in succession two Christian husbands, ruled the most fertile part of the Doab for twenty-four years, building the finest church in India, and leaving at her death large endowments for the church and clergy, proves how a strong will may always set at naught the religious prejudices of the Hindoos. Of course this feeling of toleration is not shared by the Mussulman population of India: their fierce creed teaches, as their first and most important duty, the forcible conversion of all who disagree with them; and the dictum of the Prophet, that proselytism will excuse barbarities, founded on the supposition that every Mussulman slain increases the number of true believers, whilst that of every opponent adds to the number of demons, is as strong to this day as in the first year of the Flight. Independently of our having supplanted them, the Mahommedans hate us for our faith alone; and from them we can never expect religious quarter.

But they are not the dominant race in India; and so long as we keep the Hindoos on our side the intolerance

of the Moslems need cost us no alarm. Our religious policy is contained in the answer of Lord Wellesley, when accused of having been lukewarm regarding the spread of Christianity :—"A British governor-general," said he, "could not do more, and a Christian could not do less." For once in this world of contradictions our policy, with regard to missionary labours, should go hand-in-hand with our duty. We should, as Christians, exercise our worship as openly, and as strictly, as possible. We should proclaim everywhere our willingness and anxiety to receive all ages, sexes, and castes, who will come to us; and, if possible, offer such inducements as may tempt them to our creed. The best and the most eloquent men in the world may preach to the Hindoo, till the Millennium; but, unless you can show him sufficient inducement in his condition in this world to change his belief regarding the next, it will be all vain and vexatious labour. The establishment of Christian villages in different districts where the arts of agriculture, and the science of common things, are better understood than amongst the natives, would soon have the effect of weaning the Hindoo from his faith. If he is to be miserable, he will prefer to remain miserable as a Hindoo, than miserable and despised as a Christian. But once show him that his worldly comfort and prosperity will be increased by the change, and he will very soon leave caste and the tyranny of the Brahmins to his less enlightened fellows. In religious matters the Hin-

doos resemble their own elephant. You may tempt or bribe them, but never force them. And this is a knowledge that should keep us even from the mere suspicion of having recourse to any underhand means of disgracing their faith or caste; and, much as we may despise the degrading effects of the childish worship of Brahma, we must always remember that its votaries do not see with our eyes, and that to them it has still the strongest of all claims, that of being the faith of their fathers.

The more I consider our Indian empire, the more satisfied am I that, in its present form it cannot last. It is founded on the shifting sands of native caprice, and no amount of legislative talent can make such a foundation sure. Our possessions are far too large for the machinery we employ to keep them in motion. The executive cannot possibly perform its duty; and, although British rule is not vicious, it is utterly inefficient, and is attended by those thousand evils that frequently render a weak government more fatal to those living under it than a positively bad one.

In Asia, the power of England stands on a quicksand: in Europe it is founded on a rock. The latter may last for a thousand years: the existence of the former must always be precarious. We must not cut away too much from the rock, in order to steady the shifting sands, lest we imperil both without establishing either.

This crisis affords the country a good opportunity of

deciding the great question of what sacrifices we can make to retain our Indian empire, without perilling what is far dearer to us—our power and position as a great European nation. The extent of the sacrifice should be distinctly ascertained; and we should convince ourselves that there *is* a point, beyond which any further sacrifice is attended with danger.

Parliament must decide this question. And it is absolutely necessary for the safety and honour of England, that in approaching it they should throw aside all party feeling, and have but one object in view—the glory and prosperity of this great empire.

Members of Parliament do not profess at present to have much knowledge of Indian affairs; and it would be not only dangerous, but most insulting to the country, for them to pretend to legislate on them off-hand, without preparation or inquiry. Before any sweeping reform is sanctioned by the Legislature, many a prolonged sitting, and much laborious investigation, should prove to the country that their representatives have deserved success even if they do not obtain it.

It is a farce to appoint a committee to examine into the state of India generally; the subject is so vast, that no committee, however carefully selected, could possibly undertake it with any prospect of success. The only chance Parliament has of coming to a sound conclusion on Indian affairs is by examining them piecemeal, little by little; several sub-committees should be nominated,

and to each should be intrusted one particular subject: the army; public works, including the system of railways; revenue and taxation, including the opium and salt taxes; the police; the administration of justice; the general question of annexation; the state of caste; creed and Christianity would each, separately, occupy a committee for many a month. These several sub-committees should report to a committee composed of the ablest men of both Houses and of all parties; who again should advise Parliament and the country. By this means our representatives would acquire considerable information of Indian subjects; all chance of party legislation would be avoided, and we should learn what is the exact position of India with regard to this country —what are its advantages, and what its drawbacks; and we should arrive at some approximate conclusion of how much England may risk for her Indian possessions, and at what point she must sternly negative any further sacrifice.

CHAPTER XV.

The two Bills—The Mercantile Classes—Reform required in India itself.

HAVING arrived at this last stage of the proceedings, I fancy I hear you and others, who have waded thus far through what Charles Lamb would call "the dull droppings of my brain," ejaculate, "cui bono?" It is all very well; there is some truth in it, and more nonsense; but what, after all, is the good of it? What is the use of parading the streets bawling, Fire, fire, when everybody is thoroughly awakened? True, O king; but although those actually in the house itself are awakened, many in the immediate neighbourhood will not believe there is a fire at all; they still say it is nothing; merely a chimney that wanted sweeping, that it will soon burn out, and even save the expense of the sweeps! It is a pleasure to awaken such people, even though they are irritated and insist upon shutting their eyes again immediately. Those who delight to hear pleasant things will pronounce all herein contained the croaking of some discontented son of Imlah; and you or H. will quote with classical emphasis—"Arquatis omnia lurida videri," which you will have to explain to those of your friends "who don't catch the exact words,"

a sudden failure of the sense of hearing that frequently attends the perpetration of a Latin joke, to signify that, "All things seem yellow to the jaundiced eye," and probably leave some of them under the pleasing impression that I am suffering from a bilious attack.

As I said at the commencement, these letters are merely suggestive, and do not pretend to inform the public how to put their fire out; but merely suggest some small means for diminishing the probability of its recurrence. We have two Bills for the Government of India, proposed by two parties in the State, each of which is believed by its supporters to be very good; but as neither party have the majority requisite to carry either of them in their entirety, it is probable they will be thrown together, and the good of both of them eliminated. Inasmuch as I repudiate altogether the idea of Indian legislation being made a party question, and consider it very improbable that any Bill will be introduced so faultless as to enable its constructors to dispense with the suggestion of any party in Parliament, I consider the plan a very good one; and if there were a dozen Bills to be treated in the same way, instead of two, so much the better, and so much the greater chance of getting the necessary quantity of truth, out of what must necessarily contain much error. We must not, however, run away with the idea that because two negatives sometimes make an affirmative, that therefore two positives will always do so; on the

contrary, we have the authority of a worthy elder of the early Church that, the very reverse may occasionally be the case: St. Jordan rebuked a friar severely for merely touching a woman's hand; "True," answered the Friar, "but she is a pious woman." "No matter for that," answered the mysogonistic saint, "earth is good and water is good, but together they only make mud." And although both the present bills may be good in the eyes of those who made them, it does not follow necessarily that united they would give us what we require. If each party so successfully assails the bill of its opponent, as to prove its inefficiency before the country, and remains stolidly attached to its own provisions, it is not at all impossible that a third party will step in, and leaving in the hands of each of the belligerents their cherished shell, take the oyster itself for themselves; but we will hope all party feeling will disappear in this important matter, and that every suggestion will receive the hearty support of every honest man who considers it good, whether it emanate from Whig, Tory, or Radical—at any rate, personal jealousy should not be tolerated in a discussion like the present; according to the license of party tactics, no motives are too mean, no arrogance too ridiculous to impute to a political opponent—in this warfare there is no quarter.

"Qui meprise Cotin, n'estime point son roi,
Et n'à, selon Cotin, ni Dieu, ni foi, ni loi."

And already gross exaggeration, and wilful misrepresentation, are employed to sap the public confidence in men who can be of much service if they are only afforded the opportunity.

I will not say much of either of the Indian Bills before Parliament, for two reasons. First, because so many much cleverer men than myself are engaged upon them; and, secondly, because I consider that provided, in the first place, all divided responsibility be abolished; in the second, that the distribution of patronage be kept as much as possible out of the hands of the Government of the day; and in the third, that the mercantile interest be fully and powerfully represented; it is to the government of India in the country itself we must look for the permanence and prosperity of our Empire.

Of the three objects I consider indispensable to a new Indian Bill, I find that of Mr. D'Israeli effects all, whilst that of Lord Palmerston only effects one; and therefore, as far as I am a judge, the former ought, on its merits, to be a favourite at three to one. If, as I can quite understand, the present Bill is too particular in its requirements, and by restricting the Government nominations to those only who have served for certain periods in particular districts in India, (which, after all, is more an accident of service than evidence of talent), the efficiency of the whole council is impaired, these clauses can be easily amended, or entirely struck out.

The recognition of the rights of the commercial community to a voice in the government of India is a great principle, and without it any plan would be incomplete; and it is strange, that amongst a strictly commercial people, this important feature of the new Bill should not bring itself more home to those who think on the subject. Both Bills confine themselves almost entirely to the question of the home government of India, and very little is said in either about a reduction of expenses or a change of system in India itself; but, after all, it is there, and not here, that the great reforms are needed; you may amend the theory of Indian government in this country till you approach an ideal of perfection, that, whether in government or virtue, or anything else, is easier to wish, than to hope for; but it is the improved practice in the country itself that is required to ensure the duration of our supremacy, and the prosperity of the people themselves.

The Home Government of India stands exactly in the same relation to the people of that country, that an absentee landlord does to his tenants in Ireland or elsewhere. His intentions may be superlative, and his instructions to his agents excellent; but it is in the execution of them, in the spirit in which they are put into practice, that the happiness of his tenants will depend. England is the absentee landlord of India, and the Company's servants are her agents, or middle men: it behoves her, therefore, to see that all her principles and

instructions are carried out to the best advantage, and in the very spirit, by those to whom they are intrusted for execution.

We may change the name or constitution of the Home Government, and tell the Ryot that it is no longer under the Raj of Kompanee Sahib, who he believes is an old woman, but under that of the Queen Sahib, who he will be told is a young one, that he is to live and die; but what does he know or care about that? So long as both are 12,000 miles away, and represented by an executive equally exacting and neglectful of his interests, it will not affect him much.

Without entering into any of the abstruse doctrines of political science, let us take an average definition of good government, and see how it applies to our treatment of India.

Good government, then, may be said to have for its object, the greatest good of the greatest number, and its aim is to diminish to the utmost the pains, and to increase the pleasures of those living under its authority. No government can for an instant lay claim to the title of good, that either in theory or practice checks the prosperity of the people.

Two requirements are indispensable to the existence of this phœnix; that the governing class should have a direct interest in good government, and that they should possess identity of interest with those they govern. Both these indispensable conditions to good government are abso-

lutely and entirely wanting in our Indian institutions. The good of the governing few, and not of the governed many, is there the chief aim of government; there is no identity of interests whatever between the rulers of India, and their subjects; and beyond the natural promptings of philanthropy, the middle men who exercise sway in that country, have no interest whatever in diminishing the pains, and increasing the pleasures of the millions inhabiting the country they occupy, merely as birds of passage. These are very serious considerations, and should command the profound consideration of philosophers and statesmen; and if we intend to improve the condition of the country, and its inhabitants, we must try to remedy in some degree these dangerous and fundamental defects of our rule. No doubt, in doing this, the ruling minority will, to some extent be the sufferers; but in honour and justice we cannot shirk our duty on that account; and if owing to circumstances inseparable from the anomalous conditions of our rule, we cannot practice that first principle of good government which acknowledges the superior claims of the majority, we have no right to occupy the country.

CHAPTER XVI.

Suggestions for government of India—Concluding remarks.

Now then let us offer some suggestions for Indian government in the country itself.

A governor-general, appointed as heretofore from England, should be supreme ruler of India. He should have no provinces under his immediate control, nor should his time be occupied with petty details, but devoted exclusively to the great ends of government; of easing the burdens, and stimulating the progress of the immense population of the empire. He should have the entire direction of all treaties and transactions with foreign and tributary states, and the appointment and control of the whole staff employed in those services. All the great questions of finance, of revenue and taxation, of police and public works, and of the constitution and number of the several military and marine forces of the empire, should be regulated by himself and council in the same way as at present. He should be supreme in India, and answerable only to the authorities at home, and to parliament, for his acts or omissions. So far there would be no great change in the duties of the chief of the executive; but he

would be freed from those innumerable small questions of detail, arising from the fatal system of centralization, that makes it necessary to submit everything connected with the internal government of the entire, even to the dismissal or appointment of an extra sweeper to a traveller's bungalow in the southern extremity of the peninsula, to the governor-general in council at Calcutta; and thus needlessly monopolise time and attention required for more important matters. An example of the minute nature of some of the duties of the governor-general may be gathered from the late debate in the House of Lords, on moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Halliday, when we were told that the thanks of the country were due to the governor-general himself, for providing the bullock carts that transported the troops up country, quite as much as to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal; which appears much like thanking the prime minister of England for keeping the streets of London clear on any great occasion. The seat of the supreme government should be at Agra or Delhi, or Meerut, or some healthy station in Hindostan. This would keep the nucleus of power where it ought to be, somewhere in Central India; it would ensure improved means of communication with Calcutta; it would be within easier reach of Bombay and the Indus; it could not be hotter than the present seat of government, and it would be much nearer the invigorating climate of the Himalayas, which is so

necessary to the maintenance of European health and energy.

I maintain that three reforms are urgent and necessary to the just government of India. A more equable adjustment of taxation that would apportion the burdens of the State on all classes of the country according to their power of bearing them; and not confine them, as at present, to the cultivators of the land, and afford an immunity to native bankers, merchants, money lenders, and others who possess the real wealth of the country.

A thorough reform of Police; and a liberal and immediate development of roads and irrigation. In furtherance of these objects I would appoint a minister of finance to direct and adjust the whole taxation and revenue of the country; a minister of police with ample powers to supervise and reform the iniquitous system of the native police; and a minister of public works. These, together with the lieut.-governor of the province in which the seat of the supreme government was established, the commander-in-chief, and a civilian from each of the presidencies and divisions of the empire should form the council of the governor-general of India.

The governor-general, the minister of finance, police, and public works, together with the commander-in-chief, might be appointed from England, or taken from the Indian services according as the most competent

persons could be found. The remainder of the council would of course be men of Indian experience, acquainted with the customs, wants, and prejudices of the natives, and able to explain the separate and often opposite requirements of the several kingdoms of the empire. My suggestions for the government of the several presidencies and divisions would be almost identical. In each the governor's council should comprise a commissioner of public works, of police, and of revenue, who, together with a commander-in-chief, and a government secretary, should form a standing council; but, during two or three months in the year, the chief magistrate or collector of every district in the presidency, together with four or five merchants selected by their own body, should meet at the seat of government or on the hills, to assist the governor and his permanent council with their advice and experience, and to explain the condition and requirements of their several districts. By this means more accurate and public information regarding the actual state of the country would be obtained, and more reality, life and energy, be instilled into the executive, than belongs to the present stagnating system; and by affording the commercial community the right of being heard on all subjects of internal communication and development, the first great requisite of good government that identifies the interests of the governing classes and the governed would in some degree be secured.

We now come to the government of the several

districts themselves; and here I think we shall see the real good is to be effected. In these considerations we will confine ourselves to the presidency of Madras. We have held it longer, and we owe it more than any other portion of India; and there we should in justice initiate any reforms; but what is applicable to Madras is applicable to all other portions of India.

The Madras presidency contains twenty-two districts, varying in size from Madura, which is nearly twice the size of Wales, with a population of 1,756,700, to Coorg, which is about three times the size of Surrey, with a population of only 175,600. Each of these districts is governed by a collector, and magistrate, and their assistants. Frequently, as we have seen, the two former are combined: these officers are changed from one district to another, according to interest, promotion, or the requirements of the service. In some cases, by the rapidity with which these officials are translated from one appointment to another, you would imagine it was merely like moving a police magistrate from one county of England to another, amongst a people inheriting the same ideas, speaking the same language, and living under one code of laws. But the very reverse is the case: the Madras presidency contains a greater variety of nations, languages, customs, religions, and social requirements and institutions, than can be found in a similar extent of country in the world. Within the area of this presidency Tamul, Malabese, Canarese;

Teloogoo, and Hindostanee, languages that vary from each other as completely as Dutch from Greek, or Portuguese from Danish, are spoken by nations presenting greater contrasts of faith, tradition, custom, and energy, than the whole of Europe can produce. You have to deal with every shade and extreme of fanaticism, faith, morality, and barbarism, from the fierce Hadji who has drank of the pool of intolerance at Zemzem; to the dung-bedaubed Faqueer who has quaffed of the holy waters of the Ganges at Hurdwar; from the followers of Mahommed who trust to a paradise of Houris; to those of Brahma who believe in a future of snakes; from the Mussulman who upholds a plurality of wives; to the Nairs who prefer a plurality of husbands; from those tribes who only kill their own female children; to the Khoonds who kill all they can kidnap. Amongst this variety of nations you meet with the extremes of courage and timidity, energy and apathy; and human nature does not furnish a greater contrast than that existing between the hardy Mopla, who traverses with his heavy burdens the precipitous ghauts of the West, and dares to meet the English soldier hand to hand, and the spiritless Hindoo of the Carnatic, with scarce energy to scratch the soil that supports him, and who starts at the sound of a falling leaf.

It is only by living amongst them for many years that the natures, tastes, and requirements of such opposite types of the human race can be understood by an English-

man who differs so completely from them all; but owing to the system of removing magistrates and revenue officers from district to district this becomes impossible; they have no time to master any of the peculiarities of their subjects, and naturally soon become indifferent to all. For this reason I would allow of no transfers whatever, except by sanction of the governor and council.

A young man arriving in India to join the civil service should be immediately posted to a particular district, and to that he should belong, rising through the several grades of promotion, till his pension is secured or his liver "retired from business." His lot would thus be cast with one people, and his comfort identified in some degree with their peace and welfare. If he found any urgent demands for roads or irrigation, or any grievous obstacle to the welfare of the people, he would then have an interest in getting them remedied, instead of, as now, being indisposed to commence improvements which he knows he will not have time to complete, and which his successor may care nothing whatever about.

If a district is in an unsatisfactory state, it is, under existing circumstances, far easier for a man to apply for a transfer than to attempt a remedy.

A civilian confined to one district would have only one language and one code of customs to master; if a magistrate, he would soon learn to respect those customs and traditions, without a due regard to which he could never administer strict justice, or secure the confidence

of the natives under his control: and if a collector, he would soon ascertain where taxation was unjust, and where public works of utility were most urgent.

It is utterly impossible to exaggerate the ills arising from the constant change of magisterial and revenue authority, by which the prosperity of some districts is rendered an impossibility. In the district of Dinajpore, in Bengal, the magisterial authority was changed seven times in one year; imagine the delay and injustice inseparable from so many changes, and the condition of those wretched suitors who would have to bribe seven judges' clerks, and stand the worrying and extortion of seven packs of judicial jackalls! It is the extreme of cruelty, and must in the mind of the native associate any quality but justice with our exercise of judicial authority.

Both magistrates and revenue officers should rise by seniority, or promotion, in their several districts; and although I would not decrease the present munificent scale of pay and allowances of the civil service, feeling confident that if we want to keep down peculation, we must pay well for the services of a class of men who are above its temptations, I would so alter the system that its benefits should be more equally shared, and the present feverish pursuit of good appointments, to which so much of the prosperity of the people, and progress of the country, is sacrificed, should be rendered unnecessary. Stated salaries should not be attached to particular

appointments as at present, but the pay and emoluments of the civil servants should increase annually, as in the case of the clerks of public offices in England. A man would then go on with his work in whatever district he might be located, and would have no object in seeking a change of appointment, to the neglect and injury of the one he holds.

At the first glance it appears there is a certain amount of hardship in thus restricting men to particular districts; but in truth there is none whatever; there is no hardship in being compelled to reside within the limits of a province as large as Wales or Yorkshire, with a million of human beings dependant on your energy and justice; even Coorg, the smallest district in Madras, which is only half the size of Yorkshire, and contains only 175,000 inhabitants, affords full scope for the employment of any amount of energy; and although it cannot be denied that some districts in India are much more unhealthy than others, you cannot, except perhaps in the Sunderbunds, find any area, of five or six thousand square miles, that does not contain many spots where the European constitution can thrive in comparative safety. Those whose lot fell in such districts would select the most healthy spots for their residence, and knowing that there they must remain, would try to preserve, by greater care and temperance, the health they now seek in a change of appointment: of course there would be no difficulty in

allowing more leave or shorter service to those whose districts were permanently unhealthy. The enlightened discharge of the duties of governing and advancing the prosperity of our fellow-men is so noble an employment that, when viewed in its proper light, the position of a judge or collector of a principality as large as Wales or Yorkshire, is most exalted. And when one considers the calibre of the present recipients of the country's honours, it is impossible to deny that a man who, during many years, can successfully control a million of men, is equally worthy of commanderships and grand crosses as any other public servant, naval, military, and diplomatic.

The title of collector should be abolished as by no means implying the important duties of an officer to whose enlightened policy so much is intrusted—the chief of the district should have the title of deputy governor, or something of the kind; and his duties should be those of general supervision of justice and revenue in his district; under him should be collectors, and magistrates, and numerous assistants, covenanted and uncovenanted; and here again we hark back to our original difficulty, the utter inefficiency of the European staff for one tenth part of the duties of government. Owing to the great expense of the covenanted service, it may perhaps be impossible to increase their number very materially, but there is no reason why uncovenanted assistants, taken from the

lower middling classes of the country, should not be supplied in any quantity; the sons of farmers, tradesmen, with souls above tallow or turnips, would find in India more intellectual employment, and more chance of success in the game of life, than by emigrating without capital to Canada and Australia, or enlisting in the Life Guards or Police. The employment of any number of non-commissioned officers of the Queen's army, especially sappers and miners, or well-conducted officers of police, to the civil services; and the selection of a number of practical engineers and educated mechanics, such as direct the execution of the public works of this country, could not fail to be of the greatest assistance in the development and proper administration of India. All examinations might be dispensed with in the selection of these assistants, in whom an undoubted good character would be the only indispensable quality. Any Englishman of sterling honesty and integrity, taken from the lower middling classes, would be worth his weight in gold in furthering the execution of justice, and in remedying many of the shortcomings of our Indian government; being appointed, like their covenanted superiors, to a particular district, they would have only one vernacular to master, and it is hard if a man of any ordinary ability could not manage that in a year.

So great is the temptation, afforded by superior physique and morale, to the Englishman, to impose and

tyrannise over the native, that, whenever they are brought into contact, the laws for the defence of the latter must be most stringent; and the uncovenanted civilian must know, and, if occasion offers, be made to feel, that anything approaching peculation or oppression will be visited with instant dismissal; although, of course, leave to Europe without any greater prejudice to individual interests than loss of service, should be granted as at present; every inducement should be offered to the Company's servants of all grades to take more advantage of the hills and of the varieties of the Indian climate, and to resort less frequently with their families to England.

In nine cases out of ten, a residence on the hills, is attended with all the benefits of a year's trip to England; and if the Neilgherries once became a considerable English settlement, and rapid and convenient means of communication were opened to it from all parts of the presidencies, its advantages would be found to be so great, that the families of Indian officers would soon see that it was more convenient, and economical, and more in accordance with the interest of both parties for them to go out and share in the full pay and allowance of their friends and relations in India, than to bring them home on half pay, to stay with them in Europe. By this means a European colony would by degrees establish itself, and one of the first requisites to our permanent occupation of the country be secured.

These suggestions for the better government of India,

are the result of some reflection and much conversation on the subject with Anglo-Indians of experience; but for all that, they may be useless and impracticable; the gale of public opinion may blow in an opposite direction, and, as the old proverb says, "to contend against a strong wind is not in the power of a weak gnat." But something must be done, and that speedily, if we wish to save England from the eternal disgrace of wilfully trampling under foot the rights and requirements of a hundred millions of her subjects.

So much has lately been written and said about the short-comings of Indian government, so many revelations of oppression and injustice have been made, that the fact of Indian misrule can no longer be doubted; and the good name of England demands its immediate reform.

The ancients had a very convenient way of excusing their misdeeds, by saying some deity urged them; and Cromwell, when he cut off his sovereign's head, said "he was doing God's work." We cannot claim immunity from our duties as a nation on the former plea, and let us be careful how we apply the latter hypocritical sop to our short-comings.

Don't let us tell each other that in denying the rights of good government to a hundred millions of His creatures, we are doing God's work; for we are not. We have lain too long at anchor under the pleasant land of Self-praise, listening to the Syrens' melody that whispers soothing assurances of our might, majesty, and

justice. Let us cut the cable at once, and stand boldly out on our voyage of progress, if we would avoid drifting altogether on these treacherous shores; and if we are appointed to do God's work in India, let us so act that the heathen we rule, may recognise in our endeavours, the beneficial promptings of that great Being, and not merely the selfishness and indifference of his creatures.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCLUSIONS.

THE following are the conclusions to which the accompanying letters, whether justly or not, have conducted us—

1. That the want of general information on Indian subjects is much to be regretted.

2. That if Parliament undertakes to govern India, it should at any rate go through the form of mastering a subject, of which at present it professes to know nothing.

3. That numerous and laborious committees are the only means by which this information can be acquired.

4. That since our present race of statesmen have always avoided the question of Indian government, any spasmodic legislation on their part should now be viewed with the greatest distrust.

5. That no government can reasonably be expected to produce off-hand, a system perfectly suited to the requirements of India.

6. That above all things Indian reform should not be made a party question.

7. That the extent of our Indian empire is far too great for the governing element.

8. That to make our rule permanent, we should either greatly increase our executive, or decrease our territory.

9. That the present staff of Europeans is not more than sufficient to develop fully the resources of one presidency.

10. That it is not sufficiently numerous to do any one thing well.

11. That our rule is not vicious in theory, but inefficient in practice.

12. That any reform not inaugurated by a great addition to the governing element is useless.

13. That the abolition of double government, and the substitution of the Queen's name for that of the Company, cannot of itself in any way affect the natives.

14. That it is in the country itself that an improved system is most required.

15. That every double government is in itself absurd; and that divided responsibility can never conduce to success.

16. That of the three influences operating directly or indirectly on India, the Queen's government, the Court of Directors, and Parliament, the former has exercised by far the most fatal influence on the country.

17. That to the wasteful expenditure of the numberless wars of annexation and aggression, undertaken by order

of the Home government, must be attributed the lamentable fact of taxation always having remained at its maximum, and social improvement at its minimum.

18. That, generally speaking, the members of the Court of Directors have been men of Indian experience, whilst successive presidents of the Board of Control have not.

19. That, as a rule, the former have *not* abused their patronage, whilst the latter almost invariably have.

20. That the upper middling classes founded and cemented our Indian empire.

21. That India is the safety-valve for the escapement of the surplus energy of the upper middling classes.

22. That its possession keeps at a very high standard the rewards of educated labour.

23. That the enjoyment of the lion's share of Indian patronage has become almost a necessity to the peaceful well-being of the upper middling classes.

24. That the removal of the present landmarks of Indian patronage would be injudicious.

25. That the individuals selected by the Directors for their civil and military services, are drawn from the very classes that it is most to the interest of this country should go to India.

26. That Indian patronage contains prizes sufficient to shake the integrity of every man from a duke to a dustman.

27. That therefore no ministry should be intrusted with its uncontrolled distribution.

28. That partial colonization, or amalgamation of races, is necessary to permanent conquest.

29. That, owing to the cheapness of labour, and to the impossibility of the European competing with the native in labour requiring exposure, emigration to India will always be confined to those who possess capital.

30. That therefore emigration to India must always be very limited; but with sufficient capital and insufficient numbers, there is no reason why Englishmen should not cultivate and develop parts of India, in the same way that the Americans have the Southern States.

31. That during the last fifty years England has drawn annually from five to ten millions sterling from India.

32. That to that extent has her capital been diminished, and our debt to her increased.

33. That notwithstanding the little that has been done, India *does* offer a magnificent field for the judicious investment of capital.

34. That works of irrigation in particular, if undertaken with judgment, will pay from fifty to one hundred per cent.

35. That in the face of this fact we have cruelly neglected all those works of utility, by which alone her prosperity could be maintained.

36. That those parts of India we have held the longest, are the most impoverished; and those most recently acquired, are the most wealthy.

37. That Madras, which is our most ancient possession, is now the poorest country in India; and Oude and the Punjaub, lately annexed, the most prosperous.

38. That the only way to revive the prosperity of India is to increase the productive resources of the country.

39. That the interests of the commercial community are most immediately identified with this result, and therefore should be more powerfully represented in the government councils.

40. That in our proconsols in India we want men of vigour; the iron hand and velvet glove; the bold council and energetic action, that marks the reverse of the native character.

41. That, strange as it may appear, there *are* occasionally men better qualified for the post of governor-general, or governor of a presidency, than that untimely being, a peer born without a silver spoon in its mouth, who is always selected.

42. That if we persist in sending out governors-general and governors who know nothing about India, we ought at least to provide them with a council who do.

43. That our incessant annexation has been unprin-

cipled and impolitic; and, more than anything else, has shaken the native confidence in English faith.

44. That, humbug apart, we do not continue to hold India for the sake of the gentle Hindoo, but for our own.

45. That it is the height of tyranny and injustice to interfere in any way with the caste and religion of the natives.

46. That these are the birthright he most values, and for which he will fight the hardest.

47. That you may irritate him by insults or indifference; but you cannot change him one jot or tittle.

48. That, in the words of Burke, "to change the foundation of so vast a building as Indian caste and custom, is reforming particular defects by universal confusion, and like curing disease by death."

49. That unfortunately the zeal of missionaries has occasionally induced them to use the name of government in support of their own views.

50. That consequently, in many districts, the natives believed that the government *did* intend forcibly to abolish caste.

51. That, therefore, thousands of those now fighting against us are animated by patriotism, and devotion to the faith of their fathers.

52. That, in accordance with our vaunted admiration of liberty, we cannot in justice treat with inhumanity those who, fighting for their religion and their country, have attempted to exterminate their conquerors.

53. That the atrocities of Delhi and Cawnpore, even if not exaggerated (and as yet the details rest entirely on native evidence), can excite no wonder when we remember that the sweepings of all the jails of the country have been let loose on society without restraint.

54. That the openly-expressed desire to exterminate the whole race of Sepoys, because they have attempted to free their country and faith from foreign interference, would be absurd if it were not wicked: and that a smile of derision at its impossibility is only checked by a thrill of horror at its barbarity, and astonishment at its being the avowed desire of a people vaunting the merciful faith of Christ.

55. That the police of India, both government and village, is the most iniquitous in the world, and no plan for the amelioration of India can be really effective that does not commence with the establishment of a just and honest police, under the immediate control of Europeans.

56. That the chief cause of the mutiny was the continued inefficiency of the high military officers sent out by the Horse Guards.

57. That inefficient commanders naturally produce an inefficient army.

58. That veterans, who were the right men in the right place in the bow-windows of a London club, were quite the wrong men to command hundreds of thousands of Sepoys.

59. That Horse Guards' appointments have had a most calamitous effect on our influence in India.

60. That it is contrary to the ordinary dictates of common sense to send officers, who have learnt their duty between London, Windsor, and Dublin, to command men to whom war has been a trade.

61. That the country has a right to express indignation at the indifference shown by those in authority to the claims and services of Indian officers.

62. That the present army of 300,000 men is unwieldy, and should be reduced.

63. That there is every reason to believe that, with greatly improved means of communication, 150,000 men, 50,000 Europeans and 100,000 natives, would suffice.

64. That, under all circumstances, we must retain a native army.

65. That it should never be allowed to exceed three times the proportion of the European element.

66. That the system of an irregular force is more suited to the genius of the country than that of a regular force; that it is cheaper, more effective, and offers greater attraction to the pick of the fighting castes of India than the regular service.

67. That, on account of superior physique, high sense of honour, and immemorial usage, the high castes will always furnish the best fighting men of India.

68. That it was the discipline that was faulty in the Bengal army, *not* the enlistment.

69. That those who advocate the employment of Cingalese, Dyaks, Malays, and Fingoes for the subjection of India, know nothing of the races they write about.

70. That great speed is of small value in India, except for the occasional conveyance of troops.

71. That cheapness and facility of carriage are the great requirements of the country.

72. That ordinary roads, and not railroads, are the immediate want of India.

73. That Indian railroads are intended to benefit jobbers on change, and English speculators, rather than India or the Ryot.

74. That the most urgent public works are entirely shelved to make way for the comparatively useless railway.

75. That ordinary roads and tramroads could be completed in a quarter the time, and at a tithe of the expense of railroads, and would be more useful.

76. That it is in India itself that the great reforms must be initiated.

77. That magisterial and revenue duties should never be combined; and the thief-taker should never be the judge.

78. That the appointments of commissioners of police, revenue, and public works, should be the most important, and most carefully attended to, of any in India.

79. That all unnecessary centralization of authority in governor-general should be avoided.

80. That he should have no districts under his immediate jurisdiction.

81. That civilians should be stationary.

82. That the uncovenanted services be vastly increased.

83. That character is the only indispensable requirement.

84. That the law for the protection of the native must be most stringent.

85. That, as a nation, we are too fond of indulging in self-praise.

86. That English rule, when applied to people of different thoughts, habits, and requirements from ourselves, is not always the unalloyed blessing we choose to consider it.

87. That we are now thoroughly awake to the fact, that in India it has been attended with many calamities.

88. That, knowing our danger, it is madness "ad Sirenos scopulos consenescere," to remain at anchor any longer within hearing of this Syrens music.

APPENDIX.*

	Square Miles.	Population.
British States (Total) . . .	837,412	131,990,901
Native States (Total) . . .	627,910	48,376,247
British States under Governor-General	246,050	22,255,972
British States under Lieut.-Gov. Bengal	221,969	40,852,397
British States (Madras) . . .	132,090	22,437,297
British States (Bombay) . . .	131,544	11,790,042
British States (North West) . .	105,759	33,655,193
Native States (Bengal) . . .	515,533	38,702,206
Native States (Bombay) . . .	60,575	4,460,370
Native States (Madras) . . .	51,802	5,213,671

DISTRICTS UNDER THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Total Extent	246,050	23,255,972
Nagpore or Berar	76,432	4,650,000
Punjab	73,535	10,435,710
Peju	32,250	570,180
Tenasserim	29,168	115,431
Oude	25,000	5,000,000
Thalum (Punjab)	16,762	1,762,488
Mooltan	15,404	971,165
Leia	15,272	1,122,621
Lahore	11,627	3,458,686
Rangoon, Peju	9,800	—
Bassein, Peju	8,900	123,189
Cis-Sutlej States	8,090	2,282,111
Peshawur	7,588	847,695
Jullundar	6,792	2,273,037
Mooltan	5,634	411,386
Jhelum	5,350	429,420
Dehra	4,123	362,041
Goojranwalla	3,752	553,383
Kangra	3,207	718,955
Kohat	2,840	101,232

* Taken from Thorburn's Diagrams; a work invaluable to those inclined to study Indian statistics.

DISTRICTS UNDER LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

	Square Miles.	Population.
Total Extent	221,969	40,852,397
Arracan	32,250	540,180
Bhaugulpore	28,329	8,431,000
Assam	24,531	749,835
Dacca	20,942	4,055,800
Patna	18,319	7,000,000
Moorshedabad	15,950	6,815,876
Jessore	15,862	5,758,654
Cuttack	12,664	2,793,883
South-West Frontier (non regulation)	32,895	2,235,201
Ramgurh	8,524	372,216
Sylhet	8,424	380,000
Bhaugulpore	7,803	2,000,000
Chittagong	7,567	2,406,950
Beerbhoom	3,114	1,040,876
Behar	5,694	2,500,000

And eight more districts of all sizes and population.

Any one desiring more accurate information will find it in Thorburn's Diagrams, or a return printed for the House of Commons, 28th July, 1857.

DISTRICTS IN BOMBAY.

Total Extent	131,544	11,790,042
Hyderabad	26,760	1,768,757
Kurrachee	19,240	321,109
Shikarpoor	11,532	—
Sattara	10,222	1,005,771
Ahmednuggur	9,931	995,585
Candeish	9,311	778,112
Tannah	5,795	874,570
Belgaum	5,405	1,025,802
Poonah	5,298	665,000
Sholapoor	4,991	675,115
Ahmedabad	4,356	650,223
Rutnagherry	3,964	—
Thun and Packur	3,920	51,073
Dharwar	3,837	754,385
Kaira	1,869	580,631
Surat	1,629	492,684
Broach	1,319	290,984

DISTRICTS OF THE NORTH WEST.

	Square miles.	Population.
Total Extent	105,759	33,655,193
Benares	19,737	9,437,270
Saugor and Nerbudda	15,388	1,929,587
Rohilcund	12,428	5,217,507
Allahabad	11,971	4,526,607
Meerut	9,985	4,522,165
Agra	9,298	4,373,156
Delhi	8,633	2,195,180
Kumaon	6,962	605,910
Jubbulpore	6,237	442,771
Jaloun and Jansi	4,405	376,297
Bhutty Territory	3,017	112,974
Dumoh	2,428	363,584
Ajmere	2,029	224,891
Saugor	1,857	305,594
Goruckpore	—	3,087,874
Azimghur	—	1,653,251
Ghazepore	—	1,569,324
Barielly	—	1,378,268
Cawnpore	—	1,174,556
Meerut	—	1,135,072
Allyghur	—	1,134,565
Budaon	—	1,019,161
Shajuhanpore	—	986,096
Benares	—	851,757
Banda	—	743,872

DISTRICT OF MADRAS.

Total Extent	132,909	22,437,297
Madura	13,545	1,756,791
Cuddapah	13,298	1,451,921
Non Regulation Districts	12,564	2,316,802
Bellary	12,101	1,299,599
Coimbatore	8,151	1,153,862
Nellore	7,959	935,690
Salem	7,499	1,193,377
Canara	7,152	1,056,333
North Arcot	6,580	1,485,873
Malabar	6,050	1,514,909

MADRAS (*continued*).

	Square miles.	Population.
Ganjam	5,758	926,950
Tinerelly	5,482	1,269,216
South Arcot	5,020	1,006,005
Guntoor	4,752	570,083
Masulipatam	4,711	520,866
Vizagapatam	4,690	1,254,272
Rajahmundry	4,501	1,012,086
Tanjore	3,781	1,676,086
Kurnool	3,278	273,100
Trichinopoly	2,922	709,196
Chingleput	2,717	583,462
Coorg	2,116	175,600

NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

Total Extent	627,900	48,376,247
Hyderabad, or Nizam Territory	95,337	10,666,080
Bombay	60,575	4,460,370
Golab Sing's dominions	60,000	3,000,000
Nepaul	54,500	1,940,000
Madras	51,802	5,213,671
Joudpore	35,672	1,783,600
Gwalior	33,119	3,228,512
Mysore	30,886	3,460,696
Bhawlpore	25,200	925,000
Kattywar Petty Chiefs	19,850	1,486,900
Odeypore or Mewar	11,619	1,161,400

And a few others.

THOSE who desire to know more of the intolerable evils entailed on the native community by an inefficient administration of justice and tyrannical police, will find their curiosity satisfied, and their indignation aroused, by a perusal of a small book, published at Benares, in 1848, called "Revelations of an Orderly," by Paunchkouri Khan. It is a work of fiction, written much in the form of Hajji Baba and Anastatius. It professes to be "an attempt to expose the abuses of administration, by relations of every-day occurrences in the Mofussil Courts;" and it is

the opinion of those most conversant with the subject, that it is truthful and scarcely exaggerated. "C'est une experience eternelle," says Montesquieu, "que tout homme qui à du pouvoir est porté à en abuser; il va jusqu' à ce qu'il trouve des limites." The myrmidons of justice in India possess unrestricted power, and their abuse of it does indeed know no limit.

Paunchkouri Khan discourses instructively on the want of a uniform practice in the magistrate's offices. It was his lot, he tells us, to serve under several masters. Their power and propensity to enforce each his own peculiar rule and mode of practice, appear particularly to have struck his attention. "One," he says, "has a passion for turning everything topsy-turvy. Nothing that has been proposed or done by his predecessor, can be right. One objects to time-honoured usage, and asks the spectacled sheristadar, Why? according to what regulation is that done? The old man, almost old enough to be his grandfather, stands before his Excellency, and with folded hands replies, According to custom, Sahib, from a long time ago."

"Custom be d——d!" or, in more polished language, "look at the regulations," is the only answer he gives to the claims of immemorial tradition. Other masters are content to see only through the spectacles, and hear only with the ears of their Umlahs. With such an official, custom is everything. He respects everything he finds established. Everything goes to rack and ruin from his easy temper. He shows too much, whilst the opposite character shows too little, deference to the opinion of his officers.

The great fault in the administration of justice arises from the power officials possess of altering the rule of practice as they please; so that instead of every Zillah being governed on uniform principles, the modes of procedure of no two Zillahs are similar.

I believe these evils would be considerably remedied by the magistrates remaining stationary in their own districts, where their own practice, whether right or wrong, would at any rate maintain some kind of uniformity. Imagine the condition of justice in the districts mentioned in these letters, where the administration was changed seven times within the year!

This book contains numerous and most startling anecdotes of the tyranny, extortion, and duplicity of the myrmidons of justice throughout the country; and narrates, as every-day occurrences, the frightful tortures inflicted by the police to extort money or confession, and even to compel wretched prisoners to accuse themselves of crimes they never committed, merely that the officers themselves might obtain the praise and rewards of energy and skill. And when we remember that these accounts of acts then notorious in India, were given to the world in 1848, and that it was not till 1856, eight years afterwards, when the Revelations of the

Madras Torture Commission, horrified the uninitiated, and put the matter beyond a doubt, that Indian officials would allow even the possibility of such acts being perpetrated in British territory, we have certainly some excuse for not receiving as Gospel, all the reports on Indian prosperity that the authorities have thought proper to issue.

However, it of is no use going deeper into these subjects; the public have been led to the water, and very dirty it is, and if they don't wish to drink, no power can make them.

If any man *does* wish to learn the real condition of justice in the Mofussil, let him glance through the Report of the Madras Torture Commission: "The Minute by Mr. Halliday." In M. Valbezen's recent work on India, an article on "The Administration of Justice in Bengal," in Vol. VI. of the "Calcutta Review," and the "Revelations" of the aforenamed Paunchkouri Khan; if he does *not*, if he thinks it better to dream on in the comfortable belief that our rule sheds nothing but blessings on India, let him carefully avoid any authentic narrations from the country.

Those who desire information regarding Public Works, Roads, Tanks, Water Communication, Harbours, Irrigation, should turn to the Blue Book on Public Works, in Madras, printed by order of the House of Lords.

The invaluable matter contained in that ponderous tome is, however, most agreeably condensed by Colonel Cotton, Madras Engineers, in a small book on Public Works in Madras. In that will also be found many valuable suggestions and calculations about Horse Railroads and Tramroads.

The "Calcutta Review" is replete with valuable matter on all Indian subjects; and it is astonishing that, being the only periodical possessing a specialité on Indian matters, it should have been so little read.

A Return showing the distribution of Patronage by the Court of Directors and Board of Control, from 1840 to 1857, both inclusive.

The total number of Commissions and Civil Appointments amounted to 5,477. The following were the classes whence they were drawn:—

Sons of Military, Medical and Marine Officers and Chaplains in the Company's Service . .	1,465
Sons of Civil Servants in Company's Service .	400
Sons of Naval, Military and Medical Officers in H.M. Service	717
Sons of Clergymen	580
Sons of Professional Men and others . . .	2,315
Total . .	5,477

An instance that mistaken zeal on the part of missionaries, have occasionally had a dangerous effect on the native mind.

Extract from a letter by Sheik Hedayut Ali Subadur and Sidar Bahadoor, Bengal Sikh Police Battalion, published in the "Times:"—"After these events (about 1852), the missionaries requested all the moularies and pundits (Mahommedan and Hindoo Priests) to assemble: and when assembled, asked them why they shut up their women; that they ought to let them out like women of other countries: told them that they ought not to circumcise their children, or give them the Janeo or sacred cord, or marry them till they arrived at eighteen years of age; and that none of the above forms should be carried out without the permission of the magistrate of the district. These questions and remarks caused great fear in the minds of the Mahommedans and Hindoos; they said, amongst themselves, 'if the Government insists upon our acting up to these orders, what next shall we not be compelled to do against our customs and religion?' To talk over this matter many persons of both religions met at Calcutta; the missionaries of the Mofussil also spoke to the same effect to the villagers, so that all, more or less, became more alarmed for their religion, and displeased with the Government, for they thought the missionaries dared not give such orders without the consent of the Government"

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